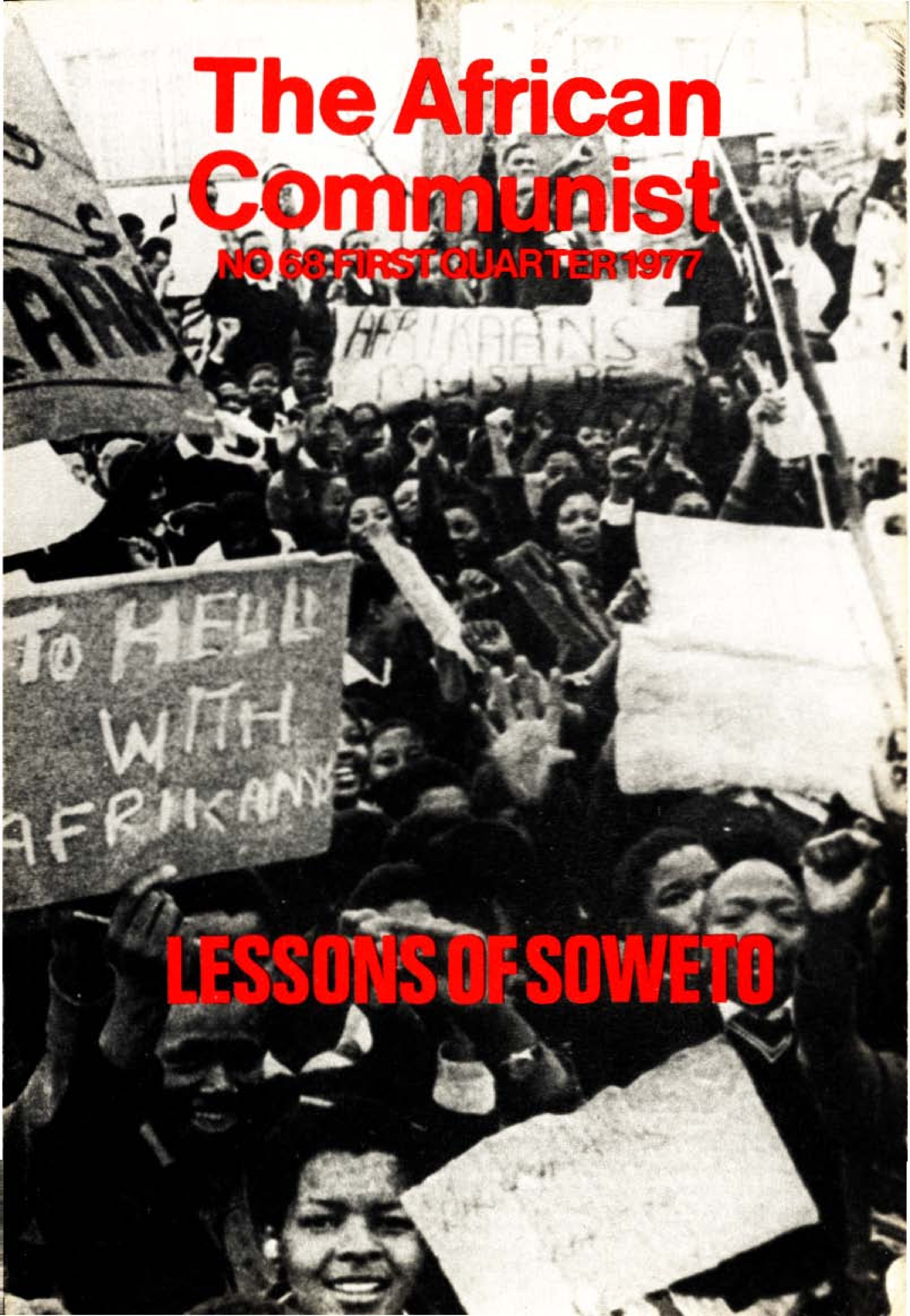
The African Communist

NO 68 FIRST QUARTER 1977

LESSONS OF SOWETO


TO HELL WITH AFRIKAANS
AFRIKAANS

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

PRICE AND SUBSCRIPTION

AFRICA	*10p per copy* *40p per year post free* *Airmail £5.00 per year* (Nigerian subscribers can send 1 Naira to our agent at KPS Bookshop, PMB 23, Afikpo, Imo State)
BRITAIN	*25p per copy* *£1.00 per year post free*
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES	*$1.00 per copy* *$4.00 per year post free* *Airmail $10.00 per year. US currency*

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 39 Goodge Street, London W.1.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No. 68 First Quarter 1977

CONTENTS

5 **EDITORIAL NOTES**
The Protection Racket in Southern Africa; Namibia's Struggle Enters a New Phase; Transkei Opportunists; Soviet-Angolan Agreement.

Z. Nkosi
18 **THE LESSONS OF SOWETO**
An analysis of the causes and consequences of the uprising of the oppressed black peoples in Soweto and other black townships last year.

R.S. Nyameko and G. Singh
34 **THE ROLE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION**
The aims and work of the Black Consciousness organisations are analysed, and the authors conclude that they are not a substitute for but tributaries of the great river of liberation headed by the African National Congress.

Alexander Sikebo
48 **THE UNDERGROUND VOICE**
A discussion of the role played by the underground propaganda of the African National Congress and the Communist Party in sharpening the political consciousness of the masses in South Africa during the recent uprisings.

A. Kalman
59 **ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA UNITE AGAINST BLACK LIBERATION**
A member of the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party discusses the alliance between Israel and South Africa which, together with Iran, aim to do the work of the imperialists in holding down the liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East.

69 CRISIS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN
This historical analysis by a member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party concludes that the solution of the problems of the Sudan, including the Southern Problem, can only be realised through the defeat of the whole Nimeiry regime and its system.

82 AFRICA: NOTES AND COMMENTS
An historic advance – the founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP); Ivory Coast "Economic Miracle" – a false image; Senegal – a bogus "Party"; Nigeria – a welcome venture.

Dialego
89 WHAT IS DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM?
The second in a series of four articles setting out the basic principles of Marxism as seen in the context of the South African liberation struggle.

Scarlet Whitman
100 POEM

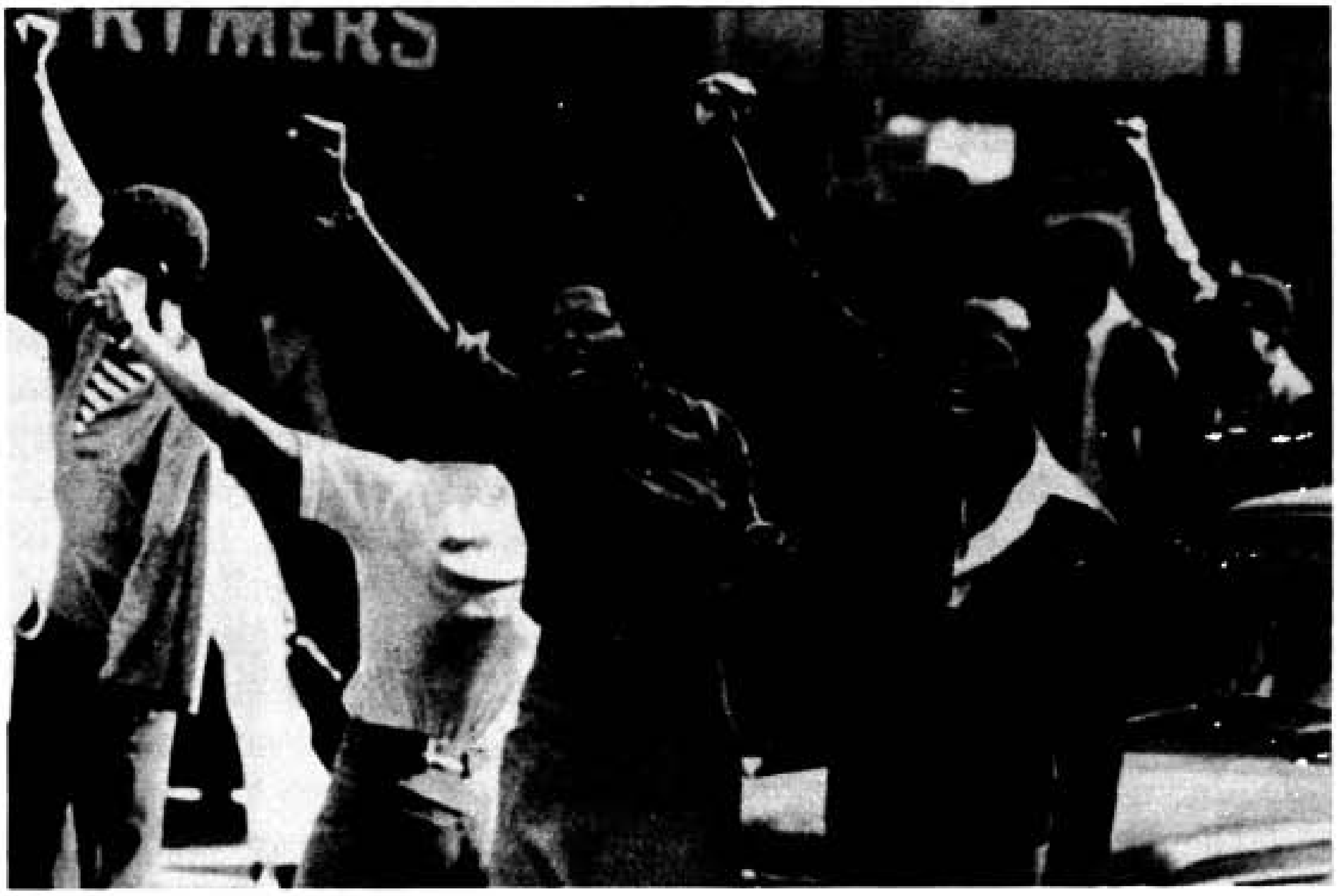
101 A SOVIET VIEW OF S.A. HISTORY
An important contribution to the history of the South African working class and liberation struggle has been made in a book by the Soviet Africanist Professor A.B. Davidson.

112 BOOK REVIEWS
Southern Africa – The New Politics of Revolution, *by B. Davidson, J. Slovo and A.R. Wilkinson;* Economics of Racism USA – Roots of Black Inequality, *by Victor Perlo;* Harry Pollitt, a Biography, *by John Mahon.*

126 DOCUMENTS
Statements from the dock by David Rabkin and Jeremy Cronin, sentenced to 10 and 7 years respectively under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts.

130 LETTER TO THE EDITOR
From Sol Flapan, Warsaw.

131 CONTENTS LIST
for THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST 1976



EDITORIAL NOTES

Whichever way one evaluates the outcome of the Geneva conference on Zimbabwe, one consequence of the Kissinger diplomacy in Southern Africa is already glaringly apparent: both Smith and Vorster have been brought in out of the cold and made respectable. We have little doubt that both have also received assurances about the future indicating a preparedness by the Western imperialist powers to come to their aid in an extremity – assurances which could not be made public because they are not yet acceptable to world opinion and, it is to be hoped, will never become so.

The very essence of Kissinger diplomacy is secrecy and deception – if necessary deception of all parties, in the interests of U.S. security and the profitability of US investments. Was there ever a conference like the Geneva conference on Zimbabwe, convened without an agenda, without any preliminary conference document, without even agreement on what the conference is about? There was only one version of what Kissinger was proposing by way of a settlement, and that version came from the mouth of Ian Smith. From the very outset this justified the suspicion of the leaders of the African liberation movements, for Smith has time and again made it abundantly clear that in his view majority rule does not mean one man one vote, so that by committing himself to majority rule in two years he is committing himself to nothing – certainly not to the "counting of heads", which is his contemptuous dismissal of the idea of votes for all.

What, then, is the purpose of the United States diplomacy? A hint comes from a report published in the "Star" on October 7 last year stating: "A priority now, in the official Rhodesian view, is to legitimise themsleves and thereby win international support for the security forces in the fight which Rhodesians now say is clearly not black against white but communism against the West". Yes, it might be argued, that may be Smith's aim, but what of Kissinger himself? On August 30, 1976, speaking to an audience of black Americans in Philadelphia, Kissinger said the main aim of his forthcoming talks with Vorster in Zurich was to get South Africa to commit itself to black-ruled independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"The white population of Rhodesia and Namibia must recognise that majority rule is inevitable. The only issue is what form it will take and how it will come about".

Since Vorster, Smith and the Turnhalle conference in Windhoek have all declared for majority rule by the end of 1978, it stands to reason that they mean something different from what the rest of the world understands by majority rule. Smith in fact has declared it means rule by a majority of civilised men, which in effect means continued white minority domination. While the white delegation at the Turnhalle talks is trying to steer the decisions towards a Bantustan-type division of the country which would leave the whites in majority control of "their" area which, in addition to containing the major economic resources of the territory, would also classify the black majority as citizens of a foreign country and therefore not entitled to the vote.

In his same Philadephia speech, Kissinger made his long-term objective a little clearer by coming to the defence of the white minority in South Africa itself.

"The world and most black African leaders recognise South Africa as an African country", he said. "Its white settlers have lived on African soil for centuries. No one, including the responsible leaders of black Africa, challenges their right to be there. Unlike Rhodesia and Namibia, South Africa cannot be regarded as an illegitimate government, as an outside colonial intrusion".

Thus the aim of United States policy is clearly no more than to produce some kind of settlement in Zimbabwe and Namibia which would end their illegitimacy, thus clearing the way for full-scale support, political, economic and military, for the South African apartheid regime, regarded since the defeat of the imperialist intervention in Angola as the only remaining reliable, and viable, bastion of the west in the sub-continent. True, South Africa is still something of an embarrassment to the West, and in his Philadelphia speech Kissinger was constrained to admit that "South Africa's internal structure is incompatible with any concept of human dignity". But the US is still prepared to accept South Africa as an ally, and most significantly Kissinger has not once declared his support for majority rule in South Africa itself, nor presented any specific demands to South Africa. For their part, the South African racists have always been aware of their value to the West. In the words of the London director of the South African Foundation, Mr Roy McNab, in an address to an international conference in Amsterdam last October, the West needs South Africa for its riches and resources, many of them vital to Western industry, and for its strategic value in preventing "the communists gaining control of the whole of Southern Africa". At the same time, said McNab, America could not give the impression that she was giving any kind of help to an unreformed South Africa.

"It may well be that America will put pressure on South Africa to smarten herself up so that she can be readmitted, respectably, to the club where it is essential for the United States to have her" he said. (*Star*, October 28, 1976.)

Thus the United States today deals with Vorster as an equal, and includes South Africa as an equal partner with the United States and Britain in discussions about multi-million dollar aid funds for the "protection" of white interests in Zimbabwe. The mass murderer of Soweto, Gugulethu and Bonteheuwel is numbered amongst the angels in the imperialist hierarchy. And to ensure that Vorster is kept supplied with the necessary hardware to shoot down schoolchildren by the hundreds in the black townships where they dare to demonstrate for their rights, the US, Britain and France last October vetoed once again a Security resolution calling for a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. In the UN General Assembly in the same month the United States rejected demands from the majority of delegates that it sever its political, economic and military ties with South Africa, and was joined in this stand by the nine nations of the European Economic Community who formally declared, through the Netherlands Ambassador, that they had decided "that it is their duty and responsibility to keep open a channel of communication and to continue to make our views known to the government and people of South Africa so that the policy of apartheid may finally be brought to an end". And in their enthusiasm to "build bridges" and keep communication channels open the countries of the EEC continue to supply, not merely the texts of hypocritical speeches condemning apartheid, but also arms, nuclear know-how, submarines, planes, helicopters, licences, trade, investment and all other commodities necessary to maintain the apartheid regime in power and strengthen the western alliance against "the menace of international communism".

This explains the equanimity with which the Western powers have reacted to the atrocities which are daily being perpetrated, and indeed intensified, in South Africa by the Vorster regime in its desperate attempts to "restore law and order". For years, after the Sharpeville and Langa shootings, the South African Government moved heaven and earth to avoid any confrontation between the police and the people. The events of 1960 had gravely damaged the political and economic standing of South Africa in the international community, and it was feared that any repetition would be a disaster threatening the very existence of the Nationalist Government itself.

Yet what do we see today? Ten times the number of dead and wounded. Maybe 20 times. Who knows? The police race at will hither and thither in their armoured vehicles, opening fire on defenceless men, women and children without the slightest provocation and without any warning. The township streets and squares run with rivers of blood, the mortuaries are stuffed full with corpses, YET NOT ONE WORD OF PROTEST OR CONDEMNATION HAS BEEN UTTERED BY A SINGLE WESTERN LEADER. The Western press, ready at the drop of a dissident's hat to scream blue murder about anything that happens in the Soviet Union, has for the most part joined this monstrous conspiracy of silence about the genocide in South Africa. Even the gagging of the South African press itself, including the jailing without trial of the journalists who try to tell the full story, is ignored.

The Vorster regime is revelling in the use of the new licence to kill which has been granted to it by the United States. And here it is necessary to draw comparisons with the effects of United States diplomacy in the Middle East, where the so-called "settlement" which has been brought about has consolidated the power of Israel at the expense of the Arab countries, whose unity has been disrupted according to the time-dishonoured principle of divide and rule. In the case of Lebanon the Kissinger doctrine has been a disaster of unparalleled magnitude, with Arab fighting Arab to the greater glory of Israel and the West.

United States diplomacy has also been temporarily successful in weakening the links between the anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East and their natural allies, the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. Today everybody can see that it was when those links were closest that the Arab cause prospered most greatly and Israel was forced to suspend her aggression. Conversely, it is the intervention of the imperialists through the agency of Kissinger which has enabled Israel to restock its arsenal while the Arabs have been weakened by fratricidal strife.

The Kissinger-Vorster doctrine for Southern Africa is intended to have the same effect – the consolidation of white power through the promotion of black disunity. In South Africa the Bantustan policy opens the door to black conflict, with Matanzima, now the ruler of an "independent" Transkei, lifting from Vorster's shoulders the shame and blame for jailing without trial and enforcing repressive laws. In Namibia the Turnhalle talks are expressly aimed to prevent black adhesion to the cause of SWAPO, to weaken the claim of SWAPO to represent the oppressed black majority. And at Geneva we saw Ian Smith, not cornered and at bay, but relaxed and smiling, knowing that he is now being sponsored by the Western powers, and that if the Kissinger doctrine succeeds, the hopes of majority rule in Zimbabwe will be dissolved in the black disunity it is intended to promote.

The advent of the Carter administration in the United States, to be followed probably by the departure of Kissinger from the diplomatic scene, does not foreshadow the abandonment of the Kissinger doctrine. There is nothing to distinguish Democrats and Republicans in the sphere of U.S. foreign policy, and however much Kissinger's critics may have detested his methods and mannerisms, no section of the United States ruling class questioned his aim – to preserve US and Western hegemony and to frustrate the true and total liberation of the oppressed peoples from the shackles of imperialism.

However, whether it is Ford or Carter, Kissinger or his successor who holds office in the United States, the day of imperialist domination is drawing to a close. Everywhere the oppressed peoples are actively promoting the struggle for liberation, threatening not only the remaining bastions of colonialism and racism, but also the new outworks of neocolonialism thrown up by the retreating empire-builders to screen their new modes of theft and aggression. The fate of Zimbabwe will be settled not by smooth talk round a conference table, but by the real shift in the balance of power between the contending parties in the spheres of political organisation, economic influence and military strategy and tactics. The formal transfer of power will come after, and not before, the effective transfer of power on the ground, when Smith or whoever takes his place at the head of the white racist army finds that his guns are spiked and his writ no longer runs, that the enemy has grown too powerful to be defeated. Racist skins are thick. There is probably a lot of fighting to be done before this day dawns, and if the fight is to be successful it must be directed not only against the white racists of Zimbabwe but also against their colleagues in South Africa and the imperialist west who back them up. In this life and death struggle, however, the liberation forces have powerful allies in the Soviet Union and the international communist movement, in the independent African countries, in the so-called Third World, in progressive movements everywhere. No one can be in any doubt of the final outcome of this battle.

NAMIBIA'S STRUGGLE ENTERS A NEW PHASE

Difficult days lie ahead for the people of Namibia. The Vorster regime desperately needs to 'stabilise' the situation on its western flank (as well as in Zimbabwe to the north), in order to be able to concentrate its forces on defending the bulwark of racism and imperialism in Southern Africa – white domination in South Africa itself. This need coincides with the new-found desire of US imperialism to control the pace of events in Southern Africa so as to halt the onward thrust of revolution and protect the long-term economic and strategic interests of the West.

This is the basic aim of Vorster and Kissinger in announcing 'independence for Namibia by 31 December 1978.' The fact that Vorster has at last been compelled to admit the inevitability of the independence of Namibia as a unitary state, and to fix a date for its happening, testifies to the growing strength of the liberation forces and the deepening crisis of the apartheid regime – political and economic. We applaud this advance for the people of Namibia, while at the same time recognising that victory is not yet in sight. Vorster's pledge, after all, was not made to SWAPO – which alone can represent the Namibian people in any negotiations for the transfer of power. It may prove as hollow as Smith's alleged conversion to the principle of majority rule in Zimbabwe is proving – and that too was a manoeuvre made in conjunction with Kissinger, not an agreement made with the representatives of the people of Zimbabwe.

So long as Vorster refuses to negotiate with SWAPO directly, so long as his 50,000 strong army of occupation continues to terrorise the people in the war zone in the northern half of the country, so long as Namibian patriots like Herman Ja Toivo languish on Robben Island, so long will the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO be entitled, indeed obliged, to continue their armed liberation struggle. The collapse of the Turnhalle talks into an ignominious and irrelevant farce gives Vorster no option but to fight a war which he must inevitably lose, or to negotiate a hand-over to SWAPO.

Now that independence for Namibia is on the agenda, even though it may be some time before it actually arrives, the deeper question as to what sort of independence is beginning to surface. If Pretoria had its way, Namibia would be broken up completely and "Bantustanised." Transkei-type independence is Pretoria's preference. Angolan-type independence is the option that the racists most fear. Won by a disciplined and ideologically mature organisation leading the mass of the people in armed struggle and creating the possibility for the people as a whole to seize control not only of the state but also of the economy, a truly liberating independence of this sort not only would guarantee that the imperialists lose their sway in another country in Southern Africa, but would also ensure that the people of Namibia could contribute positively to the liberation of their brothers and sisters in South Africa – a final step without which the liberation of their own country is bound to be incomplete.

Is there any middle path between Transkei-type independence for Namibia (which is now a non-starter) and Angolan-type independence? This is the question which the imperialists are desperately seeking to answer in their own favour. For the moment, Vorster's regime appears readier to fight it out in the north than to face up to a Lesotho or Swaziland-type independence for Namibia. But this situation could change, and meanwhile the major Western powers are clearly seeking a solution of this type; indeed, the racists may be forced by the explosive situation inside South Africa to contemplate it sooner than they might like. The essential features of such an 'independence' for Namibia would be: independence to be granted to a 'moderate' African government which would find itself dependent on the western powers for its economic survival; that dependence would give the white minority and multi-national mining and other corporations a free hand to continue their exploitation of the people and resources of Namibia; these factors would combine to ensure that Namibia would give no active support to the liberation movement in South Africa itself.

The West is already actively pursuing this strategy. At the economic level the foreign corporations are digging in for a long stay. Politically, the wooing of SWAPO is going on furiously, and many and varied are the attempts being made to persuade various elements within the liberation movement that the Western governments are on their side. Thus SWAPO is faced with a strategic problem somewhat similar to that facing the Zimbabwean liberation movement: to resist the ideological and financial pressures of the West, while exploiting to the full the Western powers' desire to accommodate to some degree, and for their own reactionary motives, the forces for change in Southern Africa. And both these tasks have to be fulfilled while at the same time advancing the armed struggle which is the only language the oppressor understands and the only path to liberation. This is undoubtedly a complex and challenging combination of tasks, and the main enemy – the South African regime – has already shown itself to be utterly ruthless and brutal. But the people of Namibia will undoubtedly succeed, as did the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, whose perseverance and determination to crush both the main enemy and its handful of agents among the people stand as an inspiring example to all the remaining oppressed peoples of Southern Africa.

In this context it was natural and timely for the liberation forces to regroup, deepen their unity and ideological perspectives, and prepare to face the new tasks of the day. This is precisely what SWAPO did at its enlarged Central Committee meeting in Zambia in July last year. The meeting revised the organisation's constitution and adopted a new programme, besides dealing with a small faction which had tried to usurp the leadership of the movement. Of special interest in the new programme, as bearing on the question "What sort of independence for Namibia?" is the following clause:

> "To unite all Namibian people particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard Party capable of safeguarding national independence and the building of a classless non-exploitative society based on scientific socialist ideals and principles."

The adoption of such a perspective clearly represents a significant advance, and a further ideological maturing can be confidently predicted. To hoist the flag of socialism at this stage may be no more than a general declaration of intent, the fulfilment of which cannot be begun until the first stage of national independence has been achieved, but it serves notice on the imperialists that their counter-revolutionary schemes are doomed to failure. Namibia *will* be free, and its independence *will* be genuine, and therefore revolutionary in its implications both for the people of Namibia and for remnants of racist rule in Southern Africa.

TRANSKEI OPPORTUNISTS

The "independent" state of Transkei came into existence on October 26, 1976, with immediate catastrophic effects for millions of black South Africans. Even before "independence" day thousands had fled from the areas of Herschel and Glen Grey, recently arbitrarily lopped off the Ciskei Bantustan by the South African Government and added to the Matanzima kingdom. They abandoned their homes and most of their possessions in their flight, preferring the squalor of life in makeshift refugee camps to the unknown horrors of life under the despotism of the Matanzima brothers. Far from trying to reassure his recalcitrant subjects, Matanzima in an early post-independence speech served notice that he was laying claim to the Ciskei as part of Xhosa territory, threatening to take the extra land by force if it was not given to him. No doubt he was irritated that no representative of the Ciskei Bantustan had attended his "freedom" day.

At the other end of his kingdom thousands of South Sotho asked for the land they occupied to be excised from the Transkei and added to the South Sotho homeland QwaQwa. They were Sotho and not Xhosa, they said, and should belong to QwaQwa and not Transkei. In response, Matanzima sacked the Sotho Chief Jeremiah Moshesh who had been a member of the Transkei government ever since self-government was proclaimed in 1963. Chief Moshesh was said to be involved with the QwaQwa Chief Minister Mr T. Mopeli in the Sotho campaign to secede from the Transkei.

Thus from the word go the Vorster Government, which continually claims separate development is the only road to racial peace, sees one of the real aims of the Bantustan programme being implemented – the setting of African against African, the destruction of African unity through tribalism and the stimulation of tribal aggression. The white racist policy of divide and rule was paying dividends from the word go.

But perhaps Matanzima's worst crime was his connivance with Vorster in depriving the 1,500,000 Africans of Transkeian origin who live in "white" South Africa of their South African citizenship. Matanzima had always maintained that, contrary to the South Africans, he would allow the Transkeians in "white" South Africa to choose whether they wanted to be citizens of the Transkei. If not, he said, he would regard them as citizens of South Africa, even if Vorster wouldn't.

Section 57 of the Transkei Constitution Act passed by the South African Parliament earlier in the year made Transkei citizenship compulsory for all Africans of Transkeian origin, who thus automatically lost their South African citizenship on October 26. Matanzima had the opportunity of making his position clear when he introduced the Act for ratification in the Transkei Parliament *after* "independence" day. He could have amended Section 57, and while this would not have affected the validity of the law in South Africa, it would have made his own attitude unequivocal, and would also have brought into question the legality of the whole Bantustan programme imposed by force on the people by the racist Vorster regime. Instead, Matanzima obeyed his master's voice and put the Act through his Legislative Assembly without alteration and even without debate. He surrendered not only his own claim and that of the 2 million living in the Transkei but also the claim of the 1,500,000 Africans of Transkeian origin living in "white" South Africa to any share of the rights, privileges and wealth of the country they had helped to develop. It was not surprising that the whole world boycotted the farcical "independence" ceremony in Umtata on October 26 – nobody was prepared to endorse the humiliation and shame of the Xhosa people in the name of separate development. Now, in an attempt to save something from the wreckage, Matanzima is resorting to sheer demagogy, opportunism and adventurism in a bid to win international acceptance. He offers his territory as "a base for the fight against racism"; he says he will ask Vorster to release Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki from Robben Island; he poses as a freedom fighter; he says he is prepared to accept "friendly assistance from China and the Soviet Union."

Nobody is deceived by these tactics. We know that Matanzima's administration is staffed by whites in key positions, that his army is commanded by a seconded white South African officer, that his bills are paid by Finance Minister Horwood. We remember that a few months ago Matanzima made it clear that his army and policy forces were needed in the fight against "terrorism", which he quite clearly identified at the time as the forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC. We have heard him say that nobody on Robben Island is a political prisoner, and that Mandela and his colleagues can make no claim to leadership because nobody had elected them as leaders – something true rather of Matanzima and his 74 chiefly colleagues who are ex officio members of the Transkei Parliament, thanks to their appointment by the South African Government, and have never had to face the voters through an election.

One can ask, if Matanzima is serious, why he has not already scrapped the undemocratic constitution he was given by Vorster, why he has not repealed the Unlawful Organisations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act which prevents the people's organisations from functioning freely both in the Transkei and South Africa, why he has not repealed Proclamation 400, which gives him the same powers to terrorise his opponents by detention and torture as Vorster derives from the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts – powers which he does not hesitate to use.

We know the answer. Matanzima has sold his birthright, and that of his people, in return for the power to play the big man in the backveld amongst a people over whom he is lording it as the agent of the white man boss. He is no freedom fighter, but a sell-out – and his price was cheap too.

The time will come when Matanzima will have to answer to the people of South Africa for his collaboration with the white racists. Is his offence any less serious than that of Laval and Petain, who acted as Hitler's agents in the south of France during World War 2? Are not their excuses for their treachery the same – that they faced irresistible power, that by yielding their claim to the whole they saved a part of their country from total occupation? While Hitler ruled, Petain and Laval were safe, but after the war the French nation, which had never surrendered, passed judgment on them and today their names are synonyms for dishonour and capitulation in the face of the enemy.

Today the boundaries of white power are contracting in Southern Africa – thanks to the MPLA and Frelimo, thanks to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe and Namibia, thanks to the efforts of the ANC and Umkhonto and our own Communist Party, thanks to the millions of black South Africans who have shown, in Soweto and throughout the country, that they prefer death to surrender. The day will dawn when white racist power is broken – and on that day Matanzima, if he still lives, will be brought to justice, and the people of the Transkei returned to the bosom of their country – South Africa, all of it, not just the fowl-run Matanzima was prepared to occupy as head rooster.

SOVIET-ANGOLAN AGREEMENT

The visit to Moscow last October of a delegation from Angola headed by President Agostinho Neto was an event of the utmost significance for Africa and the national liberation movements of the white-dominated southern states of the continent. Relations were cemented not only between the Soviet and Angolan states, but also between the CPSU and the MPLA. The joint governmental statement signed by Presidents Brezhnev and Neto not only stressed the relations of friendship and co-operation which subsisted between the two states, but also declared:

"Particular significance was attached to the further strengthening of ties and contacts between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola".

Thus the visit concluded, not only with the signature of a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Angola, but also a separate Agreement on Co-operation between the CPSU and the MPLA in which the two parties declared "the community of positions on the basic questions of international life, the adherence of both parties to the ideals of peace, national liberation, democracy and scientific socialism" and set out the guidelines for the future co-operation of the two parties.

The inter-governmental statement incorporated a section in which "the Soviet leaders paid tribute to the heroism displayed by the Angolan people in the struggle against the colonialists and in repulsing the intervention of the imperialists, racialists and other hostile forces.

"Angola has become a symbol of staunchness and courage, a symbol of internationalism and the international solidarity of all progressive forces, inspiring the peoples of the African continent which are still languishing under colonial oppression to intensify the struggle for their national freedom against the intrigues of imperialism".

For his part, President Neto expressed thanks for the political support and effective help rendered to Angola by the CPSU, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, together with the other countries of the socialist community, singling out for special mention the contribution of the Communist Party and people of Cuba.

The Brezhnev-Neto statement considers that the experience of Angola has deep meaning for all anti-imperialist forces in Africa.

"Coming out for the unity of all progressive forces in the struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the PRA consider that the development of friendly relations and all-round co-operation between the African developing states and socialist countries contributes to the strengthening of the independence of these states and to the creation of favourable conditions for the complete liberation of the African continent".

At the same time, the joint statement stresses that detente, "the principle of non-use of force in international relations, naturally, cannot affect the legitimate right of oppressed and enslaved nations to wage a struggle for their national liberation with all means at their disposal".

The statement warns, however, that the victory of the MPLA and its allies in Angola does not mean that the imperialist powers are not still trying to re-establish their lost positions, to safeguard the interests of monopoly capital, to hold back the further growth of the national liberation movement, and warns:

"They step up reprisals against the national liberation movements in the south of the continent, give every possible support to the racist regimes, frantically look for ways and means of prolonging their existence, and hatch dangerous plans for setting up a South Atlantic military bloc with the participation of South Africa. The South African regime is being assigned the role of the main bastion of imperialism in the south of the continent".

The Central Committee of MPLA decided on October 29, 1976, to transform the organisation into a party of the working class and to set up a Secretariat of the Political Bureau whose co-ordinating secretary will be the President, Agostinho Neto. As state President, Neto also became head of government.

The Central Committee also approved a programme of action setting out the main political, economic and social guidelines for the development of the country. The programme declared the party to be in favour of the socialist development of society on the basis of the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Central Committee expressed its unconditional support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, and stated that it considered the true internationalist solidarity manifested by the socialist community with the anti-imperialist states of Africa as a particularly important factor in the peoples' struggle against imperialism.

THE LESSONS OF SOWETO

by Z. Nkosi

The disturbances throughout South Africa triggered off by the police massacre of schoolchild demonstrators in Soweto on June 16, 1976, represent the greatest upsurge against white domination since Union was formed in 1910. On the surface the black rebellion has been contained by the authorities, at the cost of thousands of blacks killed and wounded, and the destruction of millions of rand of public and private property. But though the men with guns may appear once again to have crushed the protest of the black masses armed only with stones and makeshift petrol bombs, what died at Soweto and elsewhere during the conflict was not the black hope of liberation but the white hope of pacification and eternal domination. 1976 was the tenth year of Vorster's rule as Premier, the 28th of rule by the Nationalist Party which, if seats and votes in the Parliamentary elections are to be counted, enjoyed greater support amongst the whites than at any time since it came to power in 1948.

Yet at the end of Vorster's 10-year reign – the longest of any Nationalist Premier – and after 28 years of ruthless application of the laws of apartheid, backed by brutal security laws and an army and police force equipped with the latest weapons and gadgetry costing thousands of millions of rand, what stands out is the total failure of the Government to secure the submission, let alone the co-operation, of the oppressed black peoples whose interests and "independence" it claims to be promoting. It has for years been stressed by South Africa's defence leaders that victory over the enemies of apartheid depends only 20 per cent on police and military superiority and 80 per cent on political factors.

"The only really effective defence against terrorism in South Africa is to get the people, all of them in this country, on your side", said General C.A. Fraser, Officer Commanding Joint Combat Forces, on the eve of his retirement in 1973.

In September 1976 the Minister of Defence himself, Mr P.W. Botha, in the midst of the countrywide upsurge against apartheid told a Nationalist Party congress that the army was not capable of putting right everything that was wrong. "The hearts and minds of people had to be won", he said. "National security should not be seen in the first place as a military matter".

The mass uprising throughout South Africa in the recent period reflects the people's total and active rejection of everything the Nationalist Government stands for.

If the Nationalist Party leaders and their military top brass, plus their dupes and sycophants at home and abroad, ever thought that apartheid or "separate development" including Bantustans was the way to win the hearts and minds of the people, the tragic events of Soweto, Cape Town and a hundred other centres must have disillusioned them. The hearts and minds of countless black men, women and children were stopped in merciless and bloody terror unleashed by a government frantic to reassert the authority of the white man boss. The Soweto police chief told the Cillie commission of inquiry that between June 16 and August 30 more than 16,000 rounds of ammunition were fired by police in attempts to restore order there. 16,000 times in Soweto alone was Vorster's claim that apartheid brings peace given the lie. All over the country it was being proved in action that apartheid opens up only the road to suffering and death.

The total number of people who died in the 1976 disturbances will probably never be known. The official figures certainly conceal the truth, because the truth would be bad for morale and for business. Just how concerned the Government was to prevent the world from learning the facts may be gauged from the systematic harassment, including detention without trial, to which newsmen were subjected; plus threats to newspapers in general that steps would be taken to curb them if they continued to undermine national security by attempting to tell the full story of what was happening behind the police screen. All we can say is that it is quite clear the police embarked on a Government authorised programme of mass execution as a means of bringing the demonstrations to an end. Not only were those regarded as ring-leaders systematically picked off, but men, women and children were again and again shot down without cause or justification simply because they were in the area of operations. Trigger-happy police obviously felt free to shoot and kill whom they pleased, knowing that whatever they did would be backed by their superiors, and no questions asked. The medical evidence given to the Cillie commission that most of those killed in Soweto were shot in the back provides instant refutation of the police claim that they opened fire only to defend themselves against attack and the "violence of the mob".

At the same time it is clear the authorities were faced with a country-wide rebellion involving black communities in practically every centre of the country. Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to protest against oppression and to demand their rights. From the outset these demonstrations were peaceful; it was the brutal intervention of the police which turned the people towards violence. At the very height of the conflict Vorster told one of his Nationalist Party congresses that there was no crisis, the Government faced only "problems". Yet a few weeks later he was threatening to call in the army because the three-month-old revolt was damaging the country's economy and threatening the flow of capital investment from abroad. The scale on which the masses were resorting to direct action is a measure of their anger. Government buildings, railway installations, buses, power stations, factories, farms, crops and plantations were set on fire in various centres. Everywhere the places in which blacks had been oppressed, insulted and humiliated were regarded as legitimate targets. An investigation conducted by *The Star* (September 28) "has revealed that damage caused by political unrest is probably well over R100 million and may reach R200 million". To this physical damage must be added the millions of rand of lost production caused by the strikes and absenteeism during the disturbances.

Whatever Vorster may say, this was the worst crisis the Nationalist Government has had to face since it came to power. This was no one-day demonstration ending in a baton-charge or burst of bullets, but a sustained and reaffirmed refutation of everything apartheid stood for. It is hardly surprising that at the Nationalist Party congress in Pretoria in September, the Minister of Information, Dr Mulder, suggested that the terminology for separate development, already a euphemism for apartheid, should be changed once again to "plural democracy". Call it what you will, it will still be unacceptable to the black masses.

The ballot of the bullet is the only democracy the Vorster regime understands. He remains in office thanks to superior fire power, but he knows now that the more he pushes his apartheid final solution the more the black masses will unite to fight him. Soweto was a signpost marking the beginning of the end of the road for the white racists.

In *The Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels demonstrated how when the social and economic relations of production under feudalism restricted the development of the productive forces, "they became so many fetters, they had to be burst asunder, they were burst asunder". The Manifesto argued that this stage was now being reached under capitalism, and that only a rearrangement of the social and economic relations of production under communism could enable the productive forces to be expanded to meet the growing demands of mankind everywhere.

This situation has now developed in South Africa. The social and economic relations artificially imposed on the country by the apartheid system are throttling the economy, holding back the development of the oppressed peoples, crushing their initiative, stifling cultural activity, locking the body politic in a sort of rigor mortis. The more the Government tries to prevent change, the more class and national strife intensify. The Soweto demonstrations did not come out of the blue, unexpectedly, but were part of the growing force of mass action which is bursting the fetters asunder. The pressure for change can never diminish, because apartheid can never satisfy the aspirations of the people. There will be more Sowetos; the forms of struggle may change, but the pressures will intensify until finally the whole system of race discrimination and exploitation is smashed to smithereens. It is a mistake to speak of Soweto in the past tense, as an upsurge that is over and ended. As these words are written, the people's action is continuing. There may be lulls and pauses, but the struggle will not cease until final liberation is achieved.

THE ECONOMY

The ability of the South African economy to expand in spite of the restrictions of apartheid is becoming more and more limited. The economic boom of the late 60s and early 70s is over. The rate of increase in the real national product declined from about 9 per cent in

1973-74 to about 2 per cent in 1974-75, and it is estimated there will be a 2 per cent net decline in real national income when the accounts for 1976 are completed. The deficit in the balance of payments on current account increased from R212 million in 1973-74 to R1,507 million in 1974-75. The currency reserves have been gravely depleted.

Normally South Africa's deficit in the balance of payments is covered by gold exports, but the price of gold dropped from 195 dollars an ounce in 1974 to 113 dollars in July 1976. Gold production in 1975 declined by volume by 7 per cent compared to 1974. Some marginal mines have gone out of production and others are threatened.

As part of the economy of the western world South Africa has not been immune from the slump. Inflation has been running at about 15 per cent and is rising. Food prices since 1970 have risen by 77%, the cost of living generally by 67%. These figures are based on prices affecting whites; increases for blacks are higher. The *Star* reported on September 3, 1976, after conducting a survey in the townships, that "those who can least afford it have to pay more for their basic food requirements" – the difference amounting to as much as 20 per cent, largely because Africans buy in small quantities at the corner shop, while the whites buy in bulk from supermarkets, but also because African shopkeepers, like all shopkeepers faithful to the profit motive, are not above grossly exploiting their own people who have nowhere else to go. The household subsistence level for Africans (a euphemism for poverty datum line, which in turn is a euphemism for breadline) rose by between 8 and 12 per cent in the main urban areas between November 1975 and April 1976 and by June was averaging R130 a month for a family of six. This means that it required R130 to provide such a family with only the bare essentials – food, clothing, fuel and lighting, washing materials, rent and transport for the breadwinner to and from work. The household subsistence level does not include tax, transport for other members of the family, medical care, education, entertainment, savings and dozens of other items whites take for granted. African wages are nowhere near the household subsistence level, and the *Financial Mail* reported on May 21, 1976, that African average earnings in all sectors except financial institutions are below the HSL. On farms the average cash wage is less than R14 a month.

The inflation and the slump do not affect all races equally. By and large the privileged whites get by, while the blacks go to the wall. In 1970 the average white household had R362 more to spend each month than the average African household. Last year the gap had widened to R546, with the average white household receiving an income 1.9 times as large as the average Asian, 2.9 times as large as the average Coloured and 8.5 times as large as the average African household. The *Financial Mail* (13.2.76) commented: "This is an indefensible and dangerous state of affairs".

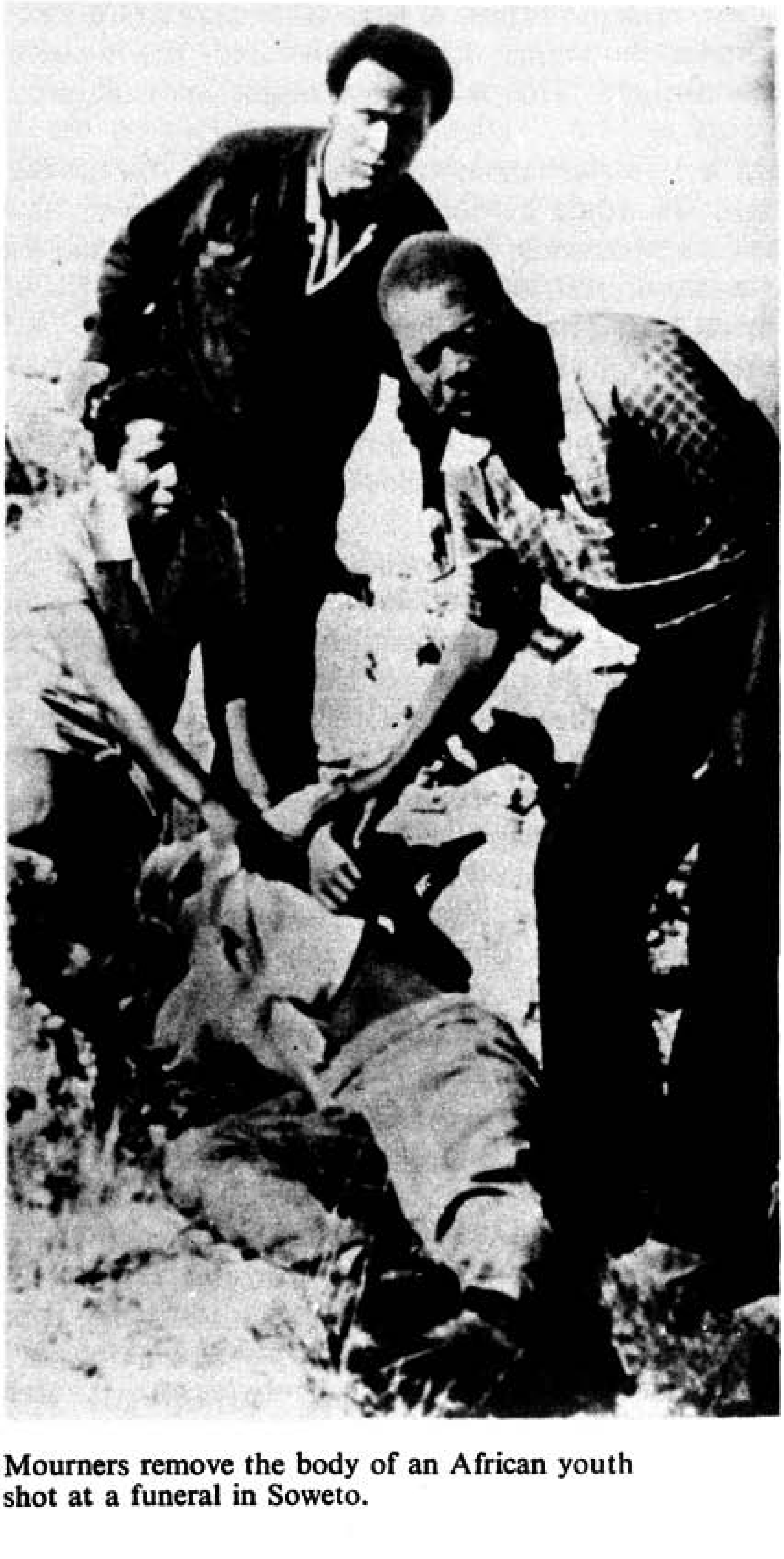
The Government last year estimated that the shortage of white (i.e. skilled) workers in 1979 would be 68,000, but has no plan to train Africans to fill the gaps. Meanwhile unemployment among Africans has been increasing at a rate of 100,000 a month, and by the end of 1976 was estimated to be at least 2 million. Unemployed Africans, save for a handful above a certain income level, receive no unemployment benefit, and for the most part are left to rot in the reserves. But tens of thousand make their way illegally into the urban townships in search of work, and the number of homeless Africans in Soweto alone in 1975 was estimated to be 86,000.

There were no signs in 1976 of the economic situation getting better. Twice in the past two years South Africa was forced to devalue her currency by a total of 23 per cent. Towards the end of the year it looked as though another devaluation was in the offfing. "Economists feel it will be difficult for the country, if the gold dips below 100 dollars, to hold off a further 15 per cent devaluation of the rand against the dollar", reported the London *Times* in a survey of the South African economy published on October 4, 1976. Worst sufferers from the inflation which would flow from these manoeuvres will again be the Africans, though the *Financial Mail*, discussing the prospect of devaluation, was of the opinion that "sacrificing the exchange rate could be a small price for staving off insurrection".

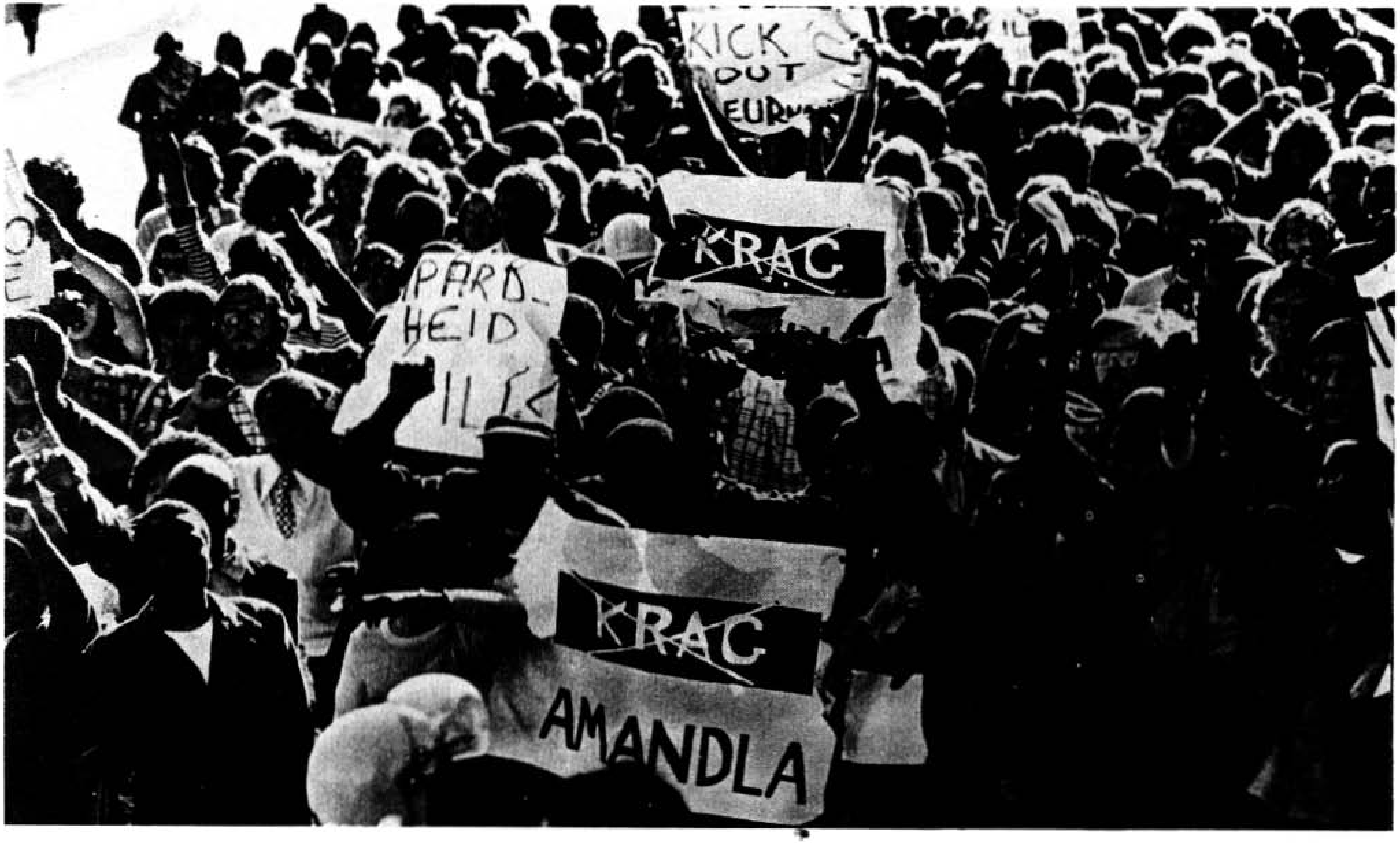
THE POLITICS OF LIFE

The Soweto insurrection was triggered off by the attempt of the authorities to force Africans to study certain subjects in Afrikaans, but it was of course much more than that. It was also a protest against the whole Bantu Education policy, designed to train Africans for inferiority; and above all a protest against the denial of basic human rights, especially the right to vote, the Government's perpetual determination to issue orders without prior consultation, to ignore the consequent protests and to crush any more open forms of dissidence. As the protest gathered momentum after the June 16 massacre, the political demands for total liberation and an end to white domination were brought to the fore.

The Nationalist Government often boasts that it is today spending more on African education than ever before, and that the percentage of

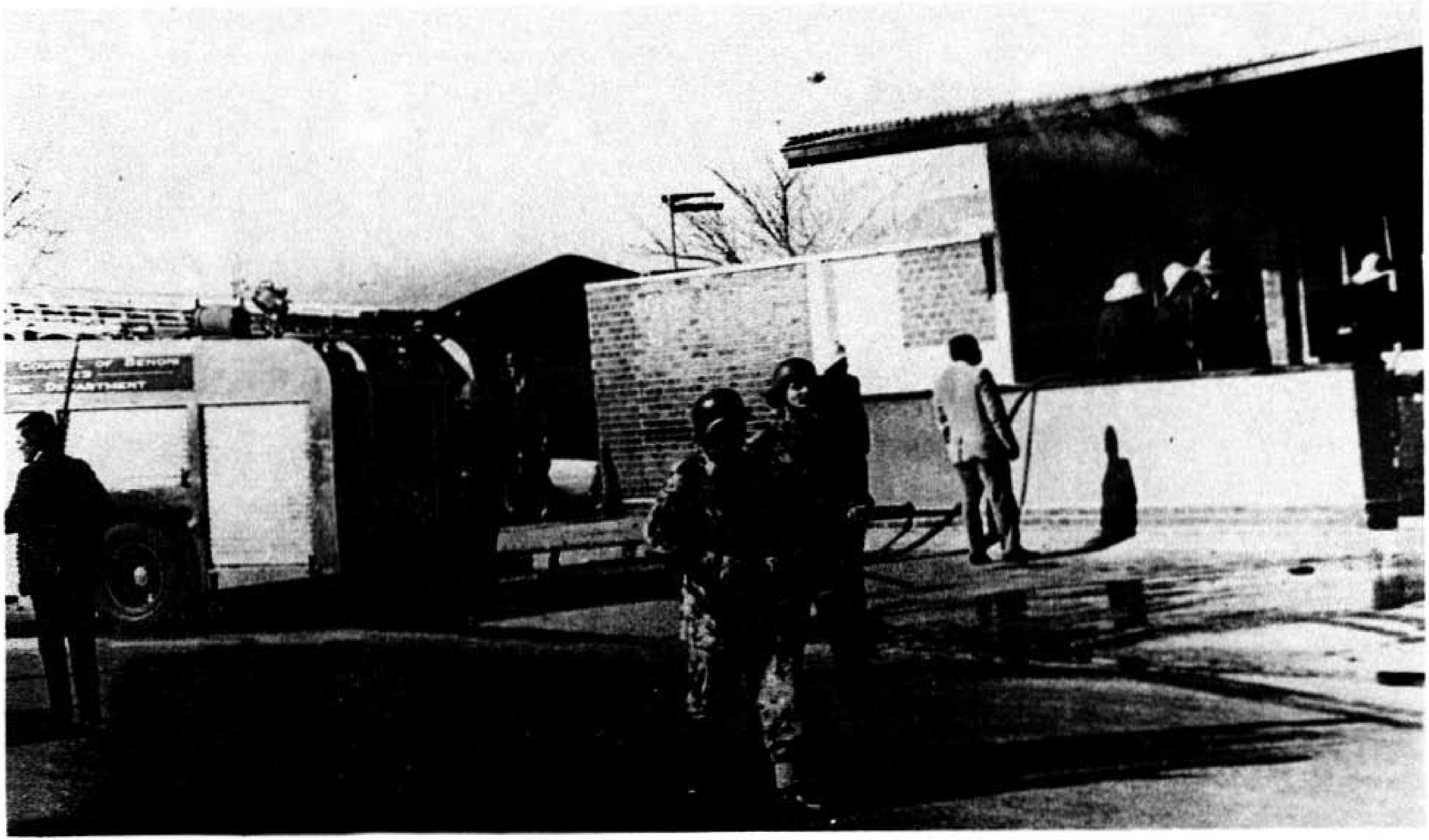


Mourners remove the body of an African youth shot at a funeral in Soweto.

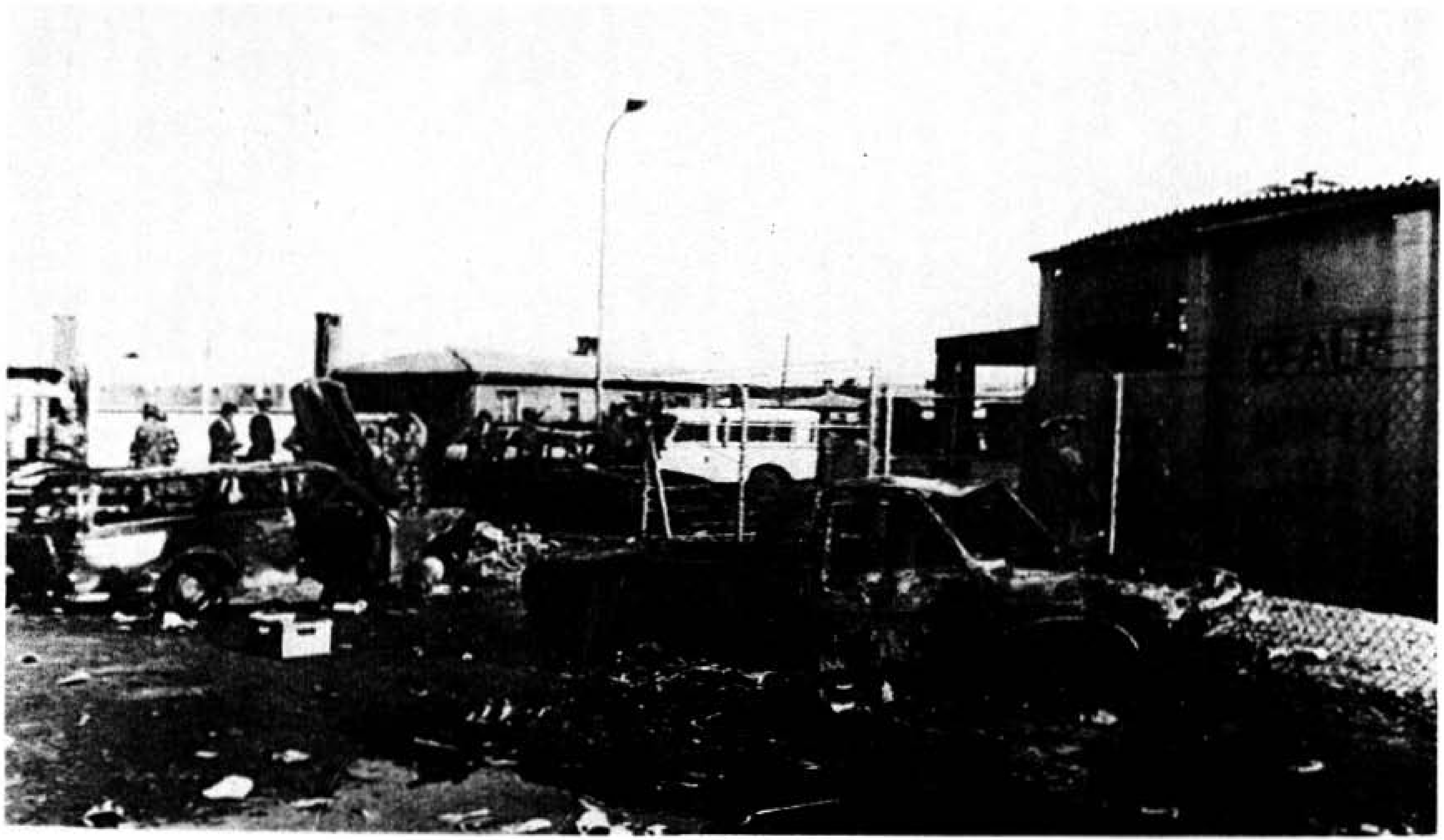


KICK
OUT
EUR
PARD-
HEID
ILL
KRAC
KRAC
AMANDLA

In Johannesburg black workers and white students demonstrate after the June 16 shooting.



Nazi-helmeted armed police patrol Benoni street
outside burning bottle store.



Port Elizabeth. Slogans on wall read "RELEASE MANDELA, SIŞULU."

African children at school is steadily rising. What is ignored, of course, is that in education, as everywhere in South African life, the gap between white and black is also steadily increasing. Whereas in 1964 the amount spent by the Government on each white pupil at school was 10 times that spent on each African pupil, by 1974 it was an average of 15 times as much and in Natal, disgracefully, it was 20 times as much.

Worst of all was the growing realisation by the Africans that education opened no doors. Those who attained even a higher education diploma or degree might still find themselves in dead-end labouring jobs or, worse still, on the unemployment heap. Those Africans who reached the top of the tree and were employed, say, in one of the segregated African universities, would find themselves getting less pay than whites with equal or lower qualifications, and subject to the dictates of an all-white university council. Increasingly African youngsters were asking themselves: what is the point of education which leads nowhere?

Consider the quality of life in the African townships, where even the highest educated African must share the common burden because the community which surrounds him is so impoverished and tyrannised. Houses without electricity, running water or internal doors. A dearth of cultural amenities. Most workers must rise before dawn and travel enormous distances to and from their work-place – in some cases up to 100 kilometres each way – returning after dark to snatch a few hours sleep before the whole process starts up again. The best educated African is as liable as the most illiterate to be raided, arrested for not having a pass, subject to constant abuse and humiliation from aggressive white police and officials. Funds for development in the urban townships are refused because Government says the Africans must look to their homelands if they want increased social services, more schools and hospitals, libraries, cinemas, swimming baths or what you will. Meanwhile, all that is on offer is a life of unending toil and squalor.

THE BANTUSTAN PROVOCATION

The denial of political rights in the "white" areas of the country is supposed to be in return for "independence" in the Bantustans. Perhaps nothing has caused so much anxiety and anger amongst urban Africans as the birth of the so-called "independent" Transkei on October 26.

In return for this fake "independence", the Africans in the "white" areas classified as of Transkeian origin lose their South African citizenship. The logic of this from the point of view of the white racists was most crudely expressed by one W.H. Olivier, of the Law Department of the University of Pretoria, in an address to the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs in Johannesburg last September.

"The overseas attack on South Africa is made because we are a minority government", he said. "If the permanency of blacks in white areas is recognised we will be creating a minority government." If blacks had rights only in the homelands then there would be majority government in South Africa, he argued. (*RDM* September 30, 1976.) The fact that blacks would still constitute the majority in "white" South Africa was apparently irrelevant. They really belonged somewhere else.

This means that the majority of the African people, who live and work in "white" South Africa are destined to become stateless, rightless and hopeless prisoners of the migratory labour system. The right to stay in an urban area, at present enshrined in section 10 of the Urban Areas Act and valued because it is often the only passport to a job, will be abolished.

Nor can any African, in or outside the reserves, look forward with confidence to the prospect of good government under a Matanzima, imposed on him by white decree in terms of a constitution which he had no hand in framing. Since 1960 the Matanzima regime has stayed in power with the aid of emergency laws providing, inter alia, for indefinite detention without trial. Matanzima's victory in the so-called elections staged on September 29, 1976, was ensured by the detention without trial of the leaders of the opposition Democratic Party. On "independence day" Matanzima took over from the Vorster regime the whole battery of security laws which helps keep Vorster himself in power, including the Suppression of Communism Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act banning the ANC and the PAC. He also has the assistance of a South African trained army unit under the command of Commandant P. Pretorius, formerly a Brigadier in the South African Army; plus a police force commanded by Major Elliot Cwele, nicknamed "Big Daddy" because, according to a "Star" report (September 25, 1976), he "is not above personally using his fists and sjambok on student demonstrators".

The savage treatment meted out to dissidents by the Bantustan governments in places like the Transkei and Owambo inspire no confidence in their "citizens" that under their own "independent" governments they will enjoy more freedom than they did under the white racists. If anything, the stooges who take office can be expected to be even more ruthless and vicious than Vorster, precisely because they lack any secure basis of support amongst the people and rely only on force to maintain themselves in power. Any chaos or conflict which might ensue will be grist to the apartheid mill, justifying in the eyes of the Nationalists their refusal to extend equal rights to "barbarous and bellicose" blacks.

Thus the harder the South African regime drives towards the Bantustan solution, the greater the sense of insecurity, and anger amongst the mass of the African people, who face the loss of citizenship rights in the country that really belongs to them, and ultimate exile to a territory most of them have never seen, where they will be at the mercy of unrepresentative and despotic black satraps.

COLOUREDS AND INDIANS

For the Coloured and Indian populations in South Africa there is not even the offer of a separate territory and "independence", only of permanent segregation and second-class citizenship in white dominated South Africa. The mockery of the advisory Cabinet Consultative Council offered to the Coloured and Indian people by Vorster, together with his pledge that no black will ever sit in his all-white Parliament, has finally knocked on the head any hopes any of them may ever have had of being admitted to the white world, and reinforced the conviction that is steadily growing amongst them that their future lies in identification with the aspirations of the African majority and joint struggle to achieve their common destiny.

In 28 years of Nationalist Government, the Coloureds and Indians have received nothing but the elimination of all the privileges they may once have shared with the whites, the loss of the limited Cape franchise, the introduction of segregation in residential areas, trains, buses and concert halls, the trauma of mass removals like District 6 in Cape Town and Fordsburg in Johannesburg, job reservation, the perpetual insult of the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

This explains one of the most striking features of the recent disturbances – the almost complete absence of inter-racial violence. Instead, we saw the magnificent solidarity of Coloured students and workers, of Indian students and even some white students from the English-language universities. Mass action displaying this kind of grass-roots unity between the black peoples of South Africa has never before been witnessed on this scale in South Africa. The disgraceful attempts of the security policy to turn one black group against another were shattered on the rock of black unity against apartheid.

A BLACK BOURGEOISIE?

The Vorster regime has realised that, in order to perpetuate white domination, a section of the black people, both inside and outside South

Africa, must be won over to collaborate. Hence the Bantustans, which represent in part an attempt to create a class of politicians, officials and petty traders with a vested interest in maintaining apartheid. (The widespread purchases of farms and bottle stores by the Matanzima brothers have already caused a scandal in the Transkei.)

Hence also the policy of "dialogue" and "detente" with black Africa, in an attempt to bully or buy friends through political, economic and military pressure. Noteworthy in this context is Vorster's stress on the common interests of South Africa and some African states in combating "international communism".

Vorster's tactics on both fronts are doomed to failure because they are designed not to placate but to deceive. There is no room for the development of a real black bourgeoisie in South Africa so long as neither in the Bantustans nor in "white" South Africa will Africans have the unfettered right to freehold ownership of property, the basic condition for the accumulation of capital on a scale comparable to or competitive with white capital. Rich shopkeepers, bus owners, marketeers and the like, even a sort of Bantustan kulak one can envisage, together with a plundering group of Bantustan politicians and officials. But a bourgeoisie with the freedom and security to invest their capital wherever they can get the highest rate of profit, in their own Bantustan or in "white" South Africa – this is not written in the Bantustan Bible. In terms of the Group Areas Act and other laws it is simply illegal.

For the same reason Vorster's foreign policy came unstuck when his true aims were revealed in Angola – to prevent the emergence of free African nationhood and to preserve Africa as a stamping ground for neo-colonialism, especially South African neo-colonialism, its appetite whetted by the prospect of huge and largely untapped markets just across its borders. The South African-United States-Chinese axis which was exposed, and defeated, in Angola has destroyed, at least for the time being, any prospect Vorster may have had of penetrating the African hinterland, though he is still pursuing his imperialist ambition through the current negotiations with Kissinger over a settlement in Zimbabwe.

WHITE INTRANSIGEANCE

The strategy of the white racists is bound to fail because, as the present crisis has revealed, the racist establishment is unwilling and unable to make any meaningful concessions to black demands. Neither in Namibia, South Africa or Zimbabwe has any meaningful change taken place. The race discrimination report in Zimbabwe, the Theron

Commission report in South Africa, the Turnhalle talks in Windhoek – all have produced nothing concrete, and were in fact designed merely to allow things to continue as before, with minor cosmetic adjustments. The basic relationships of white to black, and of both to the means of production and distribution, are to remain unaltered.

At the height of the Soweto crisis, with thousands of black bodies littering the streets of South Africa's townships, Justice Minister Kruger declared: "If the Bantu does not know his place I will show him his place". M.C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration, stressed that Africans were in the "white" areas for one purpose only – to sell their labour power. The Nationalist Cabinet reiterated that the grand apartheid design, as outlined by Verwoerd and Vorster, must be carried through to its logical conclusion, Bantustans and all.

As for the Parliamentary opposition, what the present crisis has revealed has been its total impotence, its failure to influence the direction of events in any way. Where has been heard the voice of outrage or indignation at the killings from the ranks of the United or Progressive-Reform parties? Yes, there have been mutterings from the Oppenheimers and Chambers of Commerce about riots being bad for business. There have even been some pathetic attempts to bring about a Grand Opposition Alliance headed by ex-judge Marais, ironically enough one of Vorster's fellow war-time internees, to break the Nationalist Party grip on power, just as ex-judge Tielman Roos helped to break Hertzog's Nationalist Party rule at the time of the gold standard crisis in 1933. But these attempts – even if they succeed, which is doubtful – cannot solve the chronic dilemma because neither the existing nor the contemplated opposition groupings can offer any credible alternative to apartheid. All accept white supremacy in one form or another, all insist on preserving power in white hands, none stands for majority rule based on one man one vote.

What the present crisis *has* done is sweep aside the political intermediaries – the white opposition parliamentarians, the liberal businessmen, the Bantustan leaders, the Government stooge bodies like Urban Bantu Councils – and brought out the stark confrontation between the oppressed black masses and the white racists, a confrontation which can only be settled by bullets and blood. The very obduracy, callousness and brutality of the Nationalist regime is destroying the last remnants of the pacifist illusion on which reformism flourishes. When the soft answer fails to turn away wrath, the only remaining answer is the iron fist of proletarian resolve.

The disturbances at Soweto and elsewhere throughout South Africa have not only shown the growth of black determination and capacity to fight. They have also revealed the class content of national resistance. The initiative was taken by the youth, but became a formidable force when allied with the power of the urban African working class which rallied to its call. The white establishment, racists and liberals alike, reacted either not at all or with only mild deprecation when schoolchildren were being shot down in cold blood in the townships. But when their workforce was removed during the two successive three-day strikes in Soweto which brought commerce and industry in Johannesburg to a halt, the shouts of alarm rose on all sides.

Consider well the implication of those strikes. After 13 years of detention without trial, 13 years of unrestrained police terror in which the organisations of the people and their leaders were harassed and hounded; after the mass arrests from June 16 onwards of practically every black leader able to give advice to anybody about anything; with the townships and the streets under police siege – despite these massive counter-pressures, the strikes succeeded on a scale never before seen in South Africa, showing not only political consciousness but also capacity to organise of a very high order. The worker-student alliance was able to rally the forces of the entire community in disciplined mass action.

If the student-worker army at Soweto and elsewhere had had guns instead of sticks and stones to fight with, the outcome of the story might have been very different. What is clear, in any event, is that the people, especially the youth, are ready and willing to bear arms in the struggle for their liberation; and that the time is ripe for the injection of the element of guerrilla warfare into the South African confrontation. Nor must it be assumed that guerrilla warfare can only come to South Africa from across its borders. The recent events show that the scope of mass action has not been reduced to nothing by Vorster's legislative and administrative tyranny. On the contrary, we have seen that mass insurrection in the townships, in the reserves and in the country areas, *is* possible; indeed now certain. What is called for is the raising of the struggle to a new level, combining armed action by units of the people's army in town and country together with mass protest action on the scale we have seen in recent months, though perhaps taking a different form to nullify the tactics and fire-power of the police and army.

Soweto 1976 has written a glorious page in the history of the liberation struggle. Let us learn its lessons and, inspired by the heroism of the people, continue the forward march to freedom.

The Role of Black Consciousness in the South African Revolution

by R.S. Nyameko and G. Singh

National unity of Africans has been the first and foremost aim of the African National Congress. It was formed in 1912 "as a National Society or Union for all Natives in South Africa".[1]

The 1919 Constitution of Congress expanded this aim. "Congress would encourage mutual understanding and bring together into common action and as one political people all tribes and clans of various tribes or races and by means of combined effort a united political organisation to defend their freedom, rights and privileges".[2]

Clearly the Congress was the representative of Africans. At no time however, did the Congress limit membership to a particular ethnic group. The amended constitution adopted in 1943 stated that "any person over 17 years of age who is willing to subscribe to the aims of Congress and to abide by its constitution and rules may become an individual member upon application to the nearest branch."[3]

It is a matter of common knowledge that ANC branches in the Western Cape included a substantial number of Coloured members.

In form and substance, however, Congress was a national organisation of Africans, irrespective of language, customs and regional loyalties. Its leaders made a systematic and sustained attempt to inculcate a spirit of unity among Africans and to develop in them a *national consciousness.*

The ANC Youth League took the lead in 1948 in defining the content and role of African Nationalism and the relation between Africans and other sections of the society.

The League's Manifesto of that year described Africans in South Africa as an oppressed group "with a particular colour". "African Nationalism" it stated "was the dynamic National Liberatory creed of the oppressed African people." It sought to create " a united nation out of heterogeneous tribes, free Africans from foreign domination and enable Africa to make her own contribution to human progress and happiness".[4]

The ANC from birth was an expression of this desire for a National Liberation Movement, in opposition to white domination and capable ultimately of winning the Africans' national freedom.

The starting point of African Nationalism is the historical reality that Africa "is the Blackman's Continent". Different racial groups had come to stay in South Africa, but inter-racial peace would be achieved only through the abandonment of white domination and the outlawing of racial oppression.

The Manifesto declared that of the four "chief nationalities" in South Africa, three (European, Indian and Coloured) were minorities and three (African, Coloured and Indian) suffered national oppression.

Africans alone were the majority and therefore the key to the movement for democracy. "The only driving force that can give the Black masses the self-confidence and dynamism to make a successful struggle – is the creed of African Nationalism".

The Black Consciousness (BC) Movement of recent years can rightly be said to have its roots in the growth of African Nationalism as interpreted by both the ANC and the Congress Youth League.

It helped to form new organisations like SASO (S.A. Student Organisation), BPC (Black People's Convention), ASM (African Student Movement), a network of cultural organisations through which could be expressed the vision of African Nationalism and liberation from White man's rule.

Like the Youth League of 1948, the SASO-BPC alliance demand the removal of all forms of discrimination and complete equality between South Africans of all races under the constitution and in all spheres of social action.

Spiritual Awakening

The new element in the Black Consciousness Movement is the great emphasis placed on a spiritual awakening, a rediscovery or the creation of a "Black" identity. This identity is not confined to Africans. The leaders and interpreters of the movement insist that the "Black" community embraces all the oppressed. Black Consciousness, as understood by the young intellectuals, is shared actually or potentially by all South Africans oppressed by virtue of their race or colour.

However, the Black Consciousness movement envisages ultimately the creation of a non-racial society of free and equal South Africans in the same way as did the Congress Youth League Manifesto of 1948 and the Freedom Charter of 1955. They reject in toto the system of oppression. They strive to emancipate Africans from the mental attitude, habits of submissiveness, timidity and lack of self-confidence deliberately and systematically inculcated by white South Africans. They say – "We are better than the whites because we have a higher moral standing. We have justice on our side. The whites, though a minority, use their political power to oppress us, the majority".

To get a clear understanding of the degree of closeness the Black Consciousness Movement has reached with the national liberation movement's own programme we need only look at the declaration and resolutions of the Black Renaissance Convention held at Hammanskraal in December 1974:

> "We the Black People of South Africa . . . . declare that
>
> "we condemn and so reject the policy of separate development and all its institutions;
>
> "we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination. We dedicate ourselves towards striving for
>
> "1. a totally united and democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation;
>
> "2. a society in which all people participate fully in the Government of the country through the medium of one man one vote;
>
> "3. a society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth;
>
> "4. an anti-racist society."

As recently as December 1975 the Black People's Convention reaffirmed the central ideas contained in the Freedom Charter as the only basis for a future South Africa. For example, the conference, after rejecting and condemning all Government-created institutions, including the Bantustans, asserted its conviction in the unity of all black people "in a unitary state in which all citizens were accorded the franchise – irrespective of colour, race, religion . . . as well as a state in which all participated in the making of the laws under which they lived through a National Assembly which would be a body constituted of duly elected representatives of the people".

The BPC and SASO leaders have said: – "BPC and SASO wish . . . to create in all sections of the black population an awareness of the common identity that has been imposed on them by the structure of a racist society."

The concept of Black Consciousness expresses the awareness and has an operative significance. It is a means of mobilising the various sections of the black population for social change, . . . "to set the road for awareness of the self as a human being with dignity and pride, to set the need to defend one's dignity and the desire to fight against both psychological and physical oppression".[5]

In a special appeal made to the Coloured and Indians to identify with the Black struggle, they are reminded of their common lot with Africans:

> "We are not different from each other – it is only the white man who makes us feel this way by separating us and by paying us different wages. All oppressed peoples, Africans, Coloured and Indians alike, are affected by Apartheid, Group Areas, Job Reservation . . . the injustices are endless. Our suffering is the same. WE ARE ALL BLACK PEOPLE. And in the eyes of the white oppressor we are KAFFIRS, COOLIES, BUSHIES, etc. Our survival against the white man's oppressive laws DEPENDS ON OUR JOINT ACTION AS BLACK PEOPLE."[6]

Exclusion of Whites

SASO declares that "whites must be excluded in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations".[7] They explain this by saying they do no more or less than repeat the legal injunction that excludes blacks from engaging in what the establishment regards as the affairs of white people.

"Capitalism," observes the BPC, "excludes the majority of the people from enjoying the economic wealth as the white minority does". Industrial laws are framed in such a way as to protect the white capitalist and his economic exploitation of the black worker and consumer. The materialist values of the economy are committed to and idolise personal wealth and success, and not the welfare of the people."[8]

BPC further states that "as a result of repressive action taken since the early sixties against Black political organisations and leaders, the people abandoned 'community oriented objectives' and adopted an individualism more malignant than that found within white elitist capitalist societies. The rise of the individualistic and materialistic ethic is something which is essentially alien to the distinctive qualities of blacks".[9]

The above is in line with the views of other African statesmen who have similarly denounced the materialist, profit-seeking economies of imported social formations and have called for a return to the communal values of their traditional social systems.

The BPC appeals to the concept of Black Communalism: "the philosophy of our fathers in which 'the sacred value of the individual' is the basis of the community. The black man does not exist in isolation; he belongs to a family, extended family, tribe and nation. Everyone and society itself is under obligation to ensure that every member shall be provided for".[10]

The content of Black Communalism is populist. "The State belongs to the people"; "the government exists for the welfare of all its people"; land "belongs to the people as a whole and may not be alienated"; the state has a duty to provide its members with opportunities to engage in productive efforts, to be able to contribute to effective production and making a living for their personal and national good".[11]

The programme here outlined is that of a social welfare state. In spite of its denunciation of capitalist materialism, the BPC does not contemplate the introduction of socialism but, instead, calls for "an egalitarian society where justice is meted equally to all", an "equitable economic system based on the principles and philosophy of Black Communalism".[12]

SASO has a narrower perspective. It too rejects "value systems" that alienate blacks and reduce their "basic human dignity"; but its main concern is to revive cultural ties (communal living, deep attachment to religion, hospitality, reverence for life) and extend them into existing relations between members of the black community.[13]

Black Consciousness is a state of mind; Black Communalism the vision of an ideal society. Both are conceived in terms that are valid for all sections of the alienated population – Africans, Coloured and Indians.

A Different Situation

For this reason and because of inequalities of status within the racist order, BPC distinguishes between its role and the conditions encountered by national liberation movements elsewhere.

"In other parts of the world the upsurge of Nationalism has resulted in the removing of the shackles of colonialism and oppression". But South African Blacks face other problems "such as the disintegration of our community into several ethnic groups, who are made to see themselves as necessarily different from each other" and who suffer an "overwhelming feeling of inferiority and mass insecurity".[14]

Like the ANC, they reject the Bantustans and those who attempt to work through them.

The Black Consciousness is clearly demonstrated by Black poets who express determination to bring about change.:

"I
am the liberator
no
white man can liberate me
only
a black can free himself."

This is reminiscent of the statements of Communist Party members like Johnnie Gomas and James La Guma who in the 1920's and 1930's made similar appeals to the Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

During World War 2 Moses Kotane, as General Secretary of the Communist Party, warning the people not to put their trust in the Japanese, whose victories in the Pacific fired the imagination of many Africans and Coloured who hoped to be liberated by a Japanese invasion, declared:

"South Africa is what we Non-Europeans (this term is no longer accepted) allowed her to be" and "in future she will be what we ourselves make of her".[15]

So, their language is not new. What is new is the change that has taken place in the world, in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The routing in World War 2 of the Nazi army and the Nazi Reich with its race superiority ideology, the formation of new socialist governments, the rising of the oppressed and the establishment of new independent states in Asia and Africa, weakened the old imperialist powers. More recently we have witnessed the defeat of the USA military might in Cuba, the great victory by the Vietnamese, and close to us, right on our borders, the collapse of the Portuguese empire. There is a clear realisation of the liberating role of the USSR and the socialist countries.

The independence of Mozambique demonstrated to our people the successful outcome of armed struggle confronting an old established colonial power backed by the white racist SA government and NATO powers.

Some of our young people crossed the border to witness the independence ceremony. They saw the great reception given to Oliver Tambo – the Acting President General of the African National Congress. They heard his call to South Africans to rise and fight for their country and his shout "VIVA FRELIMO" and the mass replying "VIVA ANC"!

BPC and SASO took up the call inside the country. They organised demonstrations in support of Frelimo. The slogan VIVA FRELIMO was painted on the walls and roads. These actions were in direct defiance of the regime, which had worked all the years to destroy Frelimo.

The government attacked the leadership and organisations and in September 1974 arrested, detained and tortured hundreds. After a year in detention some of the leaders have been on trial since 1975. In March 1976 at a mass demonstration outside court in protest against this trial, ANC leaflets were distributed. The regime moved the trial to Pretoria.

Our youth have learnt the lesson of the Angolan civil war, where racist SA supported by the USA and other Western powers backed the traitor organisations FNLA and UNITA in an attempt to defeat the true Angolans' liberation fighting movment the MPLA.

MPLA, with the help of the socialist countries, Cuba, the USSR and others was victorious. The South African white racist army was routed. The myth of white invincibility had been shattered for ever.

All these are great contributory factors responsible for the growing militancy, determination and self confidence of the oppressed Black majority to struggle for the destruction of the Pretoria regime and win power for the people.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe appeal for armed revolt against the regime finds expression in the poem:

"Hi Black Man
Don't you ever cry
Hi Black Man
Take up the gun"[16]

Ideas and Action

That Black Consciousness has made a significant impact on the militancy of the youth and students and has gained wide currency in the process of resistance, defiance and popular upsurge has been abundantly proved during the recent uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere.

The development of revolutionary consciousness requires among the nationally oppressed black people a consciousness of the position they occupy and the role they play in this position as a collective. Is consciousness of this character sufficient? In other words, is a consciousness which is inward-looking a sufficient condition for revolutionary action?

The answer to this must surely be "No". Struggle on the part of the black people in our country and the direction and social consciousness of this struggle in all its forms depends ultimately on whether the masses are conscious of their task and their interests as an oppressed group.

Assessing the role of the Black Power movement in the USA during the early 60's (and much of the rhetoric of the Black Consciousness Movement derives from the writings of this group) Angela Davis, outstanding militant and member of the Central Committee of the Commnist Party of the USA, had this to say recently:[17]

"First of all, we should be absolutely clear that it is extremely important for black people to attain a self-confidence and identity, something which the ruling class has attempted to take away from us . . . and it is extremely important for us to reassert our identity . . . But at the same time we have to realise that that in itself cannot provide a strategy for liberation . . . ."

Revolutionary consciousness means not only consciousness of the position that the black oppressed occupy in racist South Africa, but also of the interests and aims of the black masses expressed through their own ideology which will provide a scientific understanding of the course to be adopted towards the achievement of defined aims.

Thus when we talk of revolutionary consciousness we are concerned not only with the ideas of the movement expressed in political programmes (undoubtedly this is important and integral) but with organisation, strategy and tactics, the nature of the state against which the struggle has to be conducted and the social forces ranged against each other.

It is the lack of a revolutionary theory in this context which is the greatest weakness of the Black Consciousness Movement. Whilst it is true that the Movement, as a legal movement, cannot advocate revolution and the armed seizure of power, it is absolutely essential for the Black Consciousness Movement, if it is to continue developing its mass character, to bring its adherents into the mainstream of revolutionary ideas and action within the revolutionary movment, led by the African National Congress. As a task this requires tremendous understanding and skill. It is, however, an essential task. No organisation can afford not to explain to the masses the need for the armed overthrow of the white supremacist state. Any fostering of the illusion that meaningful change is possible through "bargaining from a show of strength" through non-violence is to create disillusionment and confusion.

Within the context of a desire to maintain maximum unity amongst the black peoples, the Black Consciousness Movement has managed, in the face of the racist regime's attempt to divide and fragment black unity as much as possible, to provide an organisational as well as an ideological content to a diversity of tendencies and forces within the black community. But this unity cannot be encompassed under the blanket notion of a vague "communalism" which will bind people together. There has to be a conscious identification of the modes of unity and the direction of consciousness and action. The unity the African National Congress achieved during the decisive period of mass struggle in the 50's and early 60's was through a patient, painstaking assertion of its political programme, organisation, strategy and tactics for national liberation, brooking no compromise.

As the Communist Party's secretariat pointed out, in a statement presented by its national chairman, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, to a Central Committee meeting in 1974:

"Paying lip service to Black Nationalism is not the same as advancing the true national cause and can, in some cases, become a camouflage for harmful approaches in the actual struggle. No doubt many who have stated their adherence to Black Consciousness . . . do so as a counter to the Government-inspired efforts to divide the Black people, as an honest reaction to the diluting influence of white Liberal 'do-gooders', and also as part of a search for additional organisational forms to advance the cause of the oppressed people. Such elements can and must be won over to the common programme of the liberation alliance. But at the same time where these organisations act against the policies and programmes of our liberation alliance, or project themselves as alternatives . . . they must be opposed and, if possible, diverted from such a path".[18]

Within the Black Consciousness Movement precisely some of the old tendencies and trends have been emerging. They are in the main:

(a) the go-it-alone tendency, which was the basis on which the PAC attempted to organise and mobilise the African people. This is a weakness which must be corrected. The argument that "since whites are part of the problem they cannot be part of the solution" is politically incorrect, but more importantly, strengthens the hand of the racist regime. There can be no doubt that co-operation between the black people and democratic sections of the white community, no matter how numerically weak in numbers, cannot be predicated on positions of parity. Nevertheless, the possiblitiy of participation by white democrats in the struggle for national liberation, in support of and in solidarity with black liberation, would undoubtedly undermine the ability of the racist regime to withstand a people's revolutionary onslaught. Those white revolutionaries, some of whom, like Bram Fischer, have paid the supreme price for the cause of national liberation, have always been welcomed by the ANC as allies. As Oliver Tambo stated:

"Who are the blacks? They are the people known as 'kaffirs, coolies and hotnots' *together with* (our emphasis) those South Africans whose total political identity with the African oppressed makes them black in all but the accident of skin colour". (ANC New Year Message 1971.)

(b) the extreme subjectivism which derives from the narrow way in which the Black Consciousness concept is applied in practice. This characteristic is exemplified in a number of ways. Thus Mr Drake Koka, the BPC's first secretary-general, in discussing the aims of the Movement has this to say:

"That is why we are not a movement of confrontation, but a movement of introspection – our aim is to awaken Black Consciousness".[19]

And again, Adam Small, a leading writer and spokesman on Black Consciousness:

"Protest itself is a form of begging, really, and we have indeed decided that we are no longer going to beg white South Africa . . . Instead we are simply to manifest our pride in Blackness time and time again".[20]

(c) There is equally the danger that the slogan of Black Power widely popularised by the Black Consciousness Movement, unless consciously and continuously given a political content, can become a weapon in the hands of reactionaries to foster exclusivism. Black Power, after all, dates back in reality to the 1930's, when the Black Republic slogan of the Communist Party became popularised. It was also a point in the Programme of the ANC Youth League. At all times, however, it was a political strategy and never, as with the PAC, an attempt to retreat to narrow chauvinistic and nationalist positions in the interests of a section of the black community. Hence the PAC's virulently anti-communist and therefore anti-black working class stance (though, naturally, this was never stated in so many words).

All the ingredients within South African society point towards a revolutionary situation, i.e. a deep-going socio-economic crisis which has its roots in the objective situation based on class and race oppression. The maturity of the subjective factor, during the actual course of struggle, involving principally the issue of organisation, revolutionary consciousness, revolutionary theory and practice, will prove decisive in determining the pace and character of change. The relationship between the legal mass organisations of the peoples and their revolutionary vanguard, the ANC and its ally the SACP, is one that is essentially based on unity of purpose. Our struggle has entered a new and more decisive phase and the need for absolute clarity on all the issues facing the revolutionary forces is vital.

(d) The Black Consciousness Movement emerged and began to develop at the same time as the upsurge of popular resistance by the black masses. A significant development of this period was, and continues to be, an awakening among the workers who, faced with a rapid deterioration in their living standards, asserted their demand for trade union rights, the right to collective bargaining outside the Government-created works committees, and the right to strike.

Within the context of South African society, these demands cannot be divorced from their political content since the workers are immediately involved in a struggle not only with the owners of the means of production but also with the state which usually intervenes with all the organs of repression at hand. The wave of strikes that swept throughout the country from 1973 demonstrated to the workers themselves the power of collective class action, and equally significantly expressed itself in *organised* forms which sustained its momentum over a long period in the face of police brutality, intimidation, harassment, detention and death. (For details see "African Unions at the Crossroads" by David Davis, *African Communist* No. 64, First Quarter 1976.)

The ANC's Strategy and Tactics Programme, whilst clearly identifying the *national* liberation of the most oppressed group as the "main content of the present stage of the South African revolution", goes on to define the context in which the struggle takes place:

"The national character of the struggle must therefore dominate our approach. But it is a national struggle which is taking place in a different era . . . It is also happening in a new kind of South Africa: a South Africa in which there is a large and well-developed working class whose class consciousness and in which the independent expressions of the working people – their political organs and trade unions – are very much part of the liberation front. Thus our nationalism must not be confused with chauvinism or narrow nationalism of a previous epoch".

And again: "This perspective of a speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation is made more real by the existence in our country of a large and growing working class *whose class consciousness complements national consciousness*" (our emphasis).

Central therefore to the strategy of the ANC, and the Communist Party as the class organisation of the workers of South Africa is the clear recognition that the struggle is both a class and a national struggle, with the national aspect as the driving force for the creation of a state of national democracy based on the Freedom Charter. What the Black

Consciousness Movement must come to grips with is precisely this objective factor. The concept of Black Consciousness obscures this dialectical relationship and when sloganised tends to ignore the character and interests of the social forces involved in the struggle for national liberation, seeing the struggle in exclusively national terms. However, as mentioned earlier, within the Black Consciousness Movement as within the constituent parts a clear diversity of ideology and political consciousness expresses itself. The tendency to recognise the national liberation struggle as both a national and a class struggle, though not the most dominant tendency, judging from the writings of these movements, does assert itself, as for example in the following passage of a SASO newsletter:

"The black people of this country are not only suffering from domination by a foreign minority white race, whose advent in this country marked the beginning of an era of persecution for black people, but they suffer repression and exploitation from capitalism . . . ."

In the same article the writer argues:

" . . . it is important for us to accept the fact that any meaningful change in the country's social, political and economic situation shall be brought about by the proletariat – the people who really feel the pinch of white domination, exploitation and oppression".[21]

It is crucial that those engaged in the struggle for liberation should recognise the indissoluble link between the national and class struggle, particularly at a time when the working class movement is asserting itself as part of and integral to the popular forces of national liberation.

The Liberation Movement

Reactionary and counter-revolutionary persons and the press in South Africa attempt to bring about disunity among the people by talking of BPC as "the organisation" leading the struggle for liberation. The Governement puts all the blame on what it calls "Black Power". Without wishing in any way to diminish the significance of the Black Consciousness movement, it must be pointed out that the BPC and SASO represent an intellectual elite with a strong bias towards a programme of education and propaganda, but with no strategy and tactics for winning power. To suggest that the BPC is "the organisation" at the head of the liberation movement is to bring confusion and eventually disillusionment to the people.

It is the underground ANC in South Africa, its external mission, and the Communist Party which have over the years been mobilising the people by deed, word of mouth, radio broadcasts from Tanzania and Zambia, underground leaflets and newspapers etc, always calling on the oppressed people to organise for the destruction of the white regime and to win power for the people.

Young people have been arrested for listening to these broadcasts, for distributing ANC or CP leaflets or having these leaflets in their possession. Over the years there has been a succession of trials of ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Communist Party cadres who have returned home to fight and organise the people.

In spite of the casualties which have been inflicted on these front-line fighters, illegal machinery has been created and underground units set up all over the country, and the impact of their work in promoting the consciousness of the masses and organising them for struggle cannot be overestimated. Since Soweto a growing number of youth and militants have been seeking out ANC and CP contacts inside and outside the country for political guidance and military training.

The national liberation movement under the ANC has the main task *now* of unfolding guerrilla warfare through its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe as part of the political struggle to meet the violence of the state with the revolutionary counter-violence of the people.

The Communist Party as an integral part of the national liberation movement and the party of the working class is carrying out its historic tasks in mobilising the working people in the common struggle for the overthrow of the racist apartheid regime and the seizure of people's power. It is taking its rightful place in the armed struggle.

The BPC, SASO, BPA and other similar organisations must be regarded as important tributaries to the Great River of the liberation movement headed by the ANC, tributaries which will tap new sources and add new strength to the main stream, help to swell it into an irresistible force capable of overthrowing the white racist regime and winning the national democratic revolution which will bring freedom and democracy to the people of South Africa.

References

1. Karis and Carter, *From Protest to Challenge:* Documents of African Politics in S.A., Vol. 1. 1882-1934, p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 77.
3. Ibid, Vol 2, 1935-1952, p. 204.
4. Ibid., p. 324.
5. A Brief Review of the Black Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, June 1973.
6. BPC leaflet n.d.
7. 2nd General Students' Council, July 1971.
8. BPC Minutes July 1972.

9. *BPC Historical Background.*
10. BPC Minutes July 1972.
11. Ibid.
12. *BPC Historical Background.*
13. Minutes of 2nd GSC, July 1971.
14. *BPC Historical Background.*
15. M.M. Kotane, *Japan, Friend or Foe?* CP pamphlet, 1942.
16. Poem by M.L. read at SASO meeting after the assassination by the racists of Onkgopotse Tiro in Gaborone, February, 1974.
17. *African Communist* No. 61, pp. 33-34.
18. *African Communist* No. 56, pp. 43-44.
19. *Sechaba* Vol. 7, No. 1.
20. *African Communist* No. 51, p. 80.
21. *SASO Newsletter,* Vol. 5, No. 1, May/June 1975.

LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

a Marxist commentary on political events in the cause of national liberation and socialism.

45 pence monthly – £2.70 half-yearly subscription – £5.40 yearly.

(Students: £4.95 yearly – £2.50 half-yearly.)

USA & Canada: 1 year $12.00

– all post free (surface mail) from –

DEPARTMENT AC
134 Ballards Lane
London N3 2PD
Britain.

THE UNDERGROUND VOICE

by Alexander Sibeko

> **"It is only the underground voice that can speak without inhibition and freely relate the mass struggle to the long-term needs of our revolution"**
>
> *(SACP Central Committee Statement – December 1972)*

A comrade once told me about the impact of a slogan on his mind and the part this played in the development of his political consciousness. The slogan appeared overnight on a prominent wall near where he played football as a youth. The message declared in bold letters: "AN ATTACK ON COMMUNISM IS AN ATTACK ON YOU!" This was in 1950 when the Communist Party of South Africa was banned. The comrade was 12, his family was unconnected with politics and he knew nothing of the party or the general struggle. Yet the slogan stuck in his mind and as he grew up, and became politically aware, its full meaning dawned. He later joined the underground Party and coincidentally was delighted to meet the older generation of comrades who had painted the very slogan.

In the same vein five young pupils, ages 12 to 17, fresh from the Soweto uprising, related to a Dar Es Salaam press conference last September some of the factors responsible for their involvement. Michael Msimango explained:

> "Our parents used to tell us that there was an ANC and when we knew of all the things that had been started by the ANC we knew it was our duty to continue with the struggle".

He also said that they had seen pamphlets and leaflets about Nelson Mandela and commented: "When we read those leaflets we felt that now it was our time." (*Guardian,* 1/9/76)

ROLE OF CLANDESTINE PROPAGANDA

The impact and influence of revolutionary propaganda is clearly inestimable. Important as propaganda activity is during "normal" times, it takes on a higher, qualitative value during illegal times and especially during periods of intense struggle. The two examples cited help to illustrate the point.

A period of illegality and repression can last for years, but the power of clandestine propaganda does not diminish. On the contrary, if the propaganda correctly reflects the needs of the struggle, the effect increases. The well-worn leaflet passes from hand to hand forging an invisible link between those who read it; an invisible link capable of being concretised into a material force under a given set of circumstances! This is what we mean by the "qualitative" value of an item of propaganda, be it a leaflet, wall slogan, radio broadcast or clandestine journal.

This qualitative value of revolutionary propaganda increases when truth is at a premium. Jethro Ngani in a review of ANC propaganda inside South Africa (*Sechaba,* Vol 10, Fourth Quarter 1976) puts it this way:

> "In a situation reminiscent of the terror conditions of Nazi occupied Europe, a single leaflet or a slogan daubed on a wall brings hope and inspiration to the oppressed and breathes defiance of the tyrant."

If we stress the relative importance of clandestine propaganda during "abnormal" times as distinct from legal propaganda during "normal" times it is not to undervalue the latter, but during normal times a movement clearly has many more opportunities for expression open to it. During a period of repression where the reactionary forces seal off every opportunity for disclosing the truth about the general state of affairs and the progress of the struggle, the role of clandestine propaganda becomes more vital.

In such a period much of the burden of *educator, agitator* and *organiser* falls on the shoulders of the underground propaganda apparatus. The clandestine journal *Vukani* (July 1976 issue) defines the role of propaganda as follows:

> "Our freedom struggle is being waged on many fronts, one of the most important is in the field of propaganda. Propaganda counters the lies of the enemy, it develops political awareness, it inspires our

people to greater efforts and it shows by concrete example that the fascist police can be outwitted in their own backyard."

POST-RIVONIA PERIOD

In the exacting and gruelling period experienced by the liberation movement and our people, especially since the Rivonia arrests and the wave of repression and intimidation that followed, clandestine propaganda has played an active and significant part in furthering the struggle. At a time when our movement has been battling to reconstruct an underground apparatus, so seriously damaged by the mass arrests and "dispersal" of the 'sixties, our propaganda has often been the only visible expression that we survived the terror and continued to grow.

Indeed, as Jethro Ngani illustrates in his *Sechaba* article, it has been the distribution of clandestine propaganda, often in a spectacular way through nationally co-ordinated 'leaflet bombs' in company with street broadcasts, that nailed Vorster's oft repeated boast that he had finally "broken the back" of the ANC and Communist Party. While the enemy hoped to crush all spirit of resistance, eradicate all memory of past struggles, deceive the masses with lies, intrigues and provocations against the liberation movement, the underground voice has projected the truth to the people. Even in the period at the beginning of the 'seventies when a section of our people, particularly university students and professionals, were expressing themselves through the Black Consciousness movement, it was only the underground voice that was able to project the full-blooded viewpoint of liberation. What is important to grasp too, is that this voice of liberation has carried forward, throughout the dark post-Rivonia days, the essential body of theory, principles and concept of struggle that is our past heritage.

This is not to claim that the ANC or Party are complacent about the scale and impact of their propaganda. In many statements both organisations have viewed this question critically and pledged themselves to more intensive effort. Making the point that "the voice of our organisation is still relatively weak" the National Executive of the ANC stated in 1973: "It is essential that at all times the liberation movement as a whole should continuously pay attention to the question of instilling into the masses confidence in their own strength and the conviction that they themselves will bring about their own liberation" (*Sechaba,* Vol 7, No. 6). In 1970 an Augmented Party Meeting instructed the Central Committee "to direct its main efforts to the reconstruction of the Party at home as an organisation of professional revolutionaries closely in contact with the working class and peasantry and able to carry on the propaganda and organisation of the Party in the face of the police terror" (*The African Communist* No. 43, 4th Quarter 1970). On this question, our Party Chairman, comrade Yusuf Dadoo, made the following statement to a Central Committee meeting at the end of 1973:

> "It is necessary for the underground to sharpen its propaganda weapons and to ensure that the message and guidelines of the liberation alliance reaches all sections of our people with increasing frequency." (*The African Communist* No. 56, 1st Quarter 1974)

VOICE OF THE PARTY

Just as the underground voice of the ANC has steadily grown, so too has that of the Party. The Party has striven to contribute its authoritative weight to the general voice of liberation as well as paying strict attention to its special role of organiser and leader of the working class, to its role of Marxist-Leninist educator, and to its championing of the ideas of socialism and communism and defence of the world socialist system.

As a measure of the increase and nature of propaganda over recent years the Cape Town trial of comrades Rabkin and Cronin last September is instructive. These courageous activists were sentenced to heavy jail terms of 10 and 7 years respectively for issuing Party and ANC propaganda material over a three year period. At their trial the judge described a garage out of which they secretly worked as being tantamount to "a propaganda factory". Among the items prepared and distributed were eight different issues of the Party paper *Inkululeko-Freedom*, an ANC leaflet on the MPLA's victory in Angola, and a leaflet issued immediately following the Soweto events entitled "Death to the Murderous Oppressors: Our Brothers and Sisters will be Avenged!" The comrades were also convicted of issuing the liberation journal *Vukani-Awake* as well as assisting in the distribution of the most recent Party leaflet "Message to the Workers" (a copy of which appeared in the last issue of *The African Communist*). In evidence at their trial a Special Branch "expert" on clandestine propaganda stated that "the SACP and ANC literally bombarded the country with pamphlets which were inflammatory and attempted to prepare people for an armed struggle to remove the government by force and to institute a new regime."

Whilst paying much attention to the crucial question of the armed struggle, the ANC and Party have placed increasing importance on other aspects of the struggle, such as the growing strength of the Black working class, the Bantustans, the Black Consciousness movement, the "reforms" being offered by the Vorster regime, and practical aspects relating to organisation. The clandestine ANC journal *Amandla-Maatla* has been playing an exceptional role in this regard, together with *Inkululeko-Freedom* – organ of our Central Committee.

Inkululeko-Freedom has been indispensable in furthering the revolutionary tasks which face our people, as well as projecting the Party as the party of the most advanced class, and the propagandist of Marxism. When the first issue was launched in July 1971, marking the 50th anniversary of the Party's foundation, *Inkululeko* stated "a paper is a weapon" and continued:

> "In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser."

One indication of *Inkululeko's* impact and the fear it arouses in enemy circles was a Johannesburg *Sunday Express* report (2/9/73) that the journal "was widely distributed in Natal and other major centres just before the recent work stoppage of 500 workers at the Frame Wentex mill near Durban."

The first issue of *Inkululeko* warned:

> "The ideas which will fill the pages of this journal are hated by the enemy because they are liberating ideas. The enemy will hound you and persecute you if they catch you spreading it. But your battle cannot be won without risk and without sacrifice."

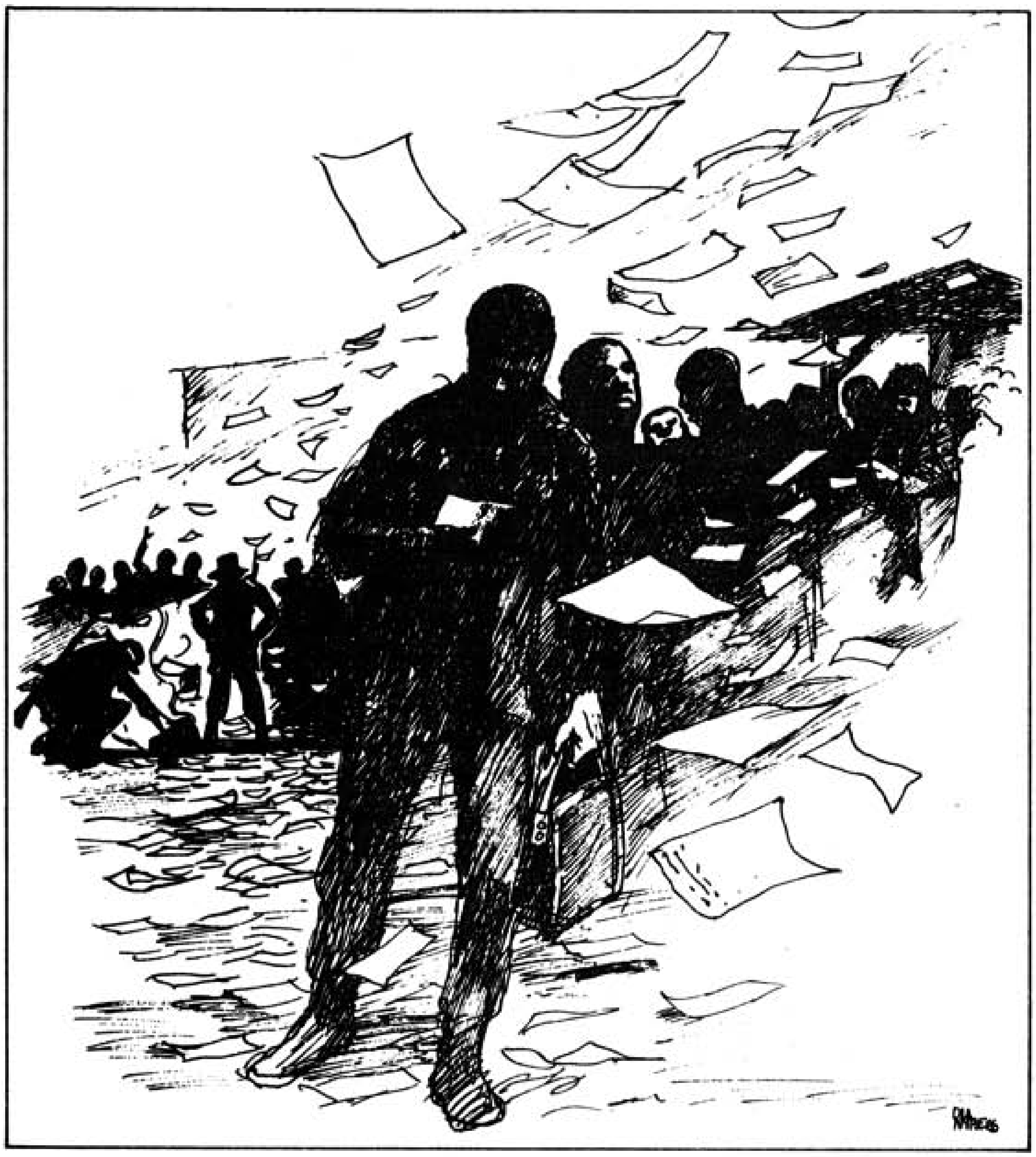
Nineteen issues of *Inkululeko* have appeared since that pronouncement, providing a masterly analysis of the growing contradictions of the racist regime and the rising strength of the forces of revolution. The production and distribution of *Inkululeko* has not been an easy feat. We remember especially in this regard that outstanding son of the people Ahmed Timol, murdered by the Special Branch in October 1971, after 400 copies of *Inkululeko* had been discovered in the boot of his car. As the German communists came to say of their underground propagandists rooted out by the Nazis: "What is written in blood cannot be wiped out". One must single out too the contribution of another indefatigable activist, comrade Suttner, who like comrades Rabkin and Cronin and many other dedicated revolutionaries before them, went to prison with no regrets and with the "Amandla!" cry ringing through the courtroom. Giving an insight into the arduous and lonely life imposed by clandestine conditions Raymond Suttner, stoutly defending his involvement in the underground apparatus, declared from the dock:

> "The work that I have done for the freedom movement made rigorous demands. It was not pleasant to spend my spare time licking envelopes, duplicating, typing, sticking on stamps. It is true that I need not have done this. But this was the course that I honestly concluded to be the best way of contributing to our future. The goals for which I worked warranted whatever sacrifices were required." (*African Communist* No 65, 1976).

MARXIST LITERATURE

Apart from its "Message to the Workers" the Party has issued numerous leaflets and items of literature over the past decade. These include leaflets such as "The Revolution that Changed the World" on the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, "Lenin the Liberator" on the 1970 centenary of Lenin's birth, and "Africans will Defeat Vorster and Smith" on the ANC-ZAPU alliance and the fighting in Zimbabwe in 1967-68. *The African Communist* has played a particularly important role in projecting the Party's views and dispersing the fog of anti-communism and obscurantism which the racists have sought to sow in our people's minds. The first issue of the clandestine *African Communist,* a specially printed pocket-sized edition of issue No. 46 (Third Quarter 1971) was produced, like *Inkululeko,* to mark the Party's 50th anniversary. Every issue of *The African Communist* since then has circulated inside South Africa in this clandestine form, amounting to tens of thousands of copies since 1971.

What has particularly irked the authorities has been a series of pocket-sized Marxist classics, only 10 x 7 cms in size, issued under false covers and titles "accepted" by the South African censors. These include *The Communist Manifesto* under the title *What Animal Is It?, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* under the title *Landmarks of South African History, What is to be done?, The State and Revolution* etc. A Xhosa-language edition of Lenin's biographical note on Marx, a Zulu-language edition of *Left Wing Communism,* and the Party Programme disguised as a popular South African "memo" book form part of this important library. There have been special pocketbook issues of significant Party statements such as "The Enemy Hidden Under the Same Colour" on the group of dissidents expelled from the ANC (*African Communist* No. 65, 1976) and comrade Dadoo's report to the Central Committee in 1973 entitled "South Africa – A Time of Challenge" (*African Communist* No. 56, 1974). Of note too is the special clandestine issue of the Party's history *Fifty Fighting Years* which has been



widely distributed at home and helps to inform a whole new generation, which never had the opportunity of knowing the Party, about our proud record and role.

CHALLENGE OF A NEW PERIOD

We have been considering the role of propaganda over a particularly difficult phase of our struggle: a decade of laborious recovery from the blows of 1963-65; a period variously referred to as a "hiatus" or "stalemate"; a period in which the revolutionary tide was at a relatively low ebb. Now with the great nationwide upsurge following the Soweto uprising of June 1976, also to be seen in relation to the strike wave of

1973-74, the tide of struggle is in full flow. There are exceptional opportunities and challenges which have opened up for the liberation movement and our propaganda must meet the new demands.

One important indication of the changed conditions is reflected precisely in the propaganda field. The rise of mass action has been accompanied by a spectacular outpouring of agitational leaflets. The Johannesburg *Star* (16/10/76) comments on this material: "Circulating mainly in Black urban areas and varying widely in quality of writing, production and thinking, their very number sometimes gives the impression that everyone with access to a typewriter and a duplicating machine has rushed to propagate his own views". One of our own sources reports: "We have recently seen the power of leaflets. The September strike in Cape Town was initiated by leaflets. People are desperately searching for direction and leadership." Reports from the Transvaal indicate that leaflets have been playing a major role in co-ordinating strike action and demonstrations there.

Many of these leaflets are not issued by a specific organisation, but are rather the product of the part-spontaneous, semi-organised nature of the uprising. So much inflammable material for a revolutionary explosion has accumulated, that there is some truth in the *Star*'s report. Since the propagandists are cloaked by the mass ferment and breakdown in authority their appeals have been uninhibited by legality, and are often confused and anarchistic. The most authentic and appropriate leaflets are a consistent clarion call to struggle and stress the need for worker-parent-student unity. One such leaflet distributed widely in the Johannesburg-Pretoria area states:

> "Parent-workers, you should take note of the fact that if you go to work (on September 20-22nd) you will be inviting Vorster to slaughter us your children as he has already done in Soweto and Alexandra. Vorster and his gangsters have already claimed that this week's shootings were made to protect parents from their own children ... We want to write exams, but we are not so selfish to write while our brothers are being killed at John Vorster Square. Parents, you should rejoice for having given birth to this type of a chile ... Aren't you proud of the soldiers of liberation you have given birth to? If you are proud support them! Do not go to work from Monday to Wednesday ... Our slogan is "Away with Vorster! Down with oppression! Power to the People! When have these criminals cared for you? Didn't Vorster order the killing of 12 workers at Carltonville? Were not dogs called in Croesus when people went on strike? Were not pregnant women strangled and battered by Vorster's police thugs at Heinemann Factory?

> AZIKWELWA MADODA!!!"

A virtual flood of strike leaflets was distributed in Cape Town during September of last year. One such leaflet declared:

> "The racists do not spare their bullets. Their guns try to cut down our march for freedom. But the march to freedom must not end. Reject all concessions that the racists grant us. Concessions are crumbs. We want freedom not crumbs. STRIKE! STRIKE!
>
> WEDNESDAY 15TH-THURSDAY 16TH (September). Do not go to work or school. Your strike will hit the system where it hurts. Freedom comes with sacrifice. We shall overcome."

As usual the police have been active spreading their own crude anti-strike leaflets throughout the townships, often using helicopters. These leaflets flog the line: "Every day away from work is a day less pay. The skollies will not feed our children. Skollies burn and loot our shops"; and "Do not be misled by the actions of a few people who are using us for their own ends. Support our accepted and elected leaders in their negotiations for a better future." Some police leaflets are downright forgeries, such as one usurping the title *Vukani* and exhorting women to "take the trousers from our men" because "our men are kept away from work by children. " Yet another leaflet purports to be the "Voice of the ANC – Spear of the Nation" and calls on all "Azanians" to "burn down the shebeens" and "kill the whites if you can, burn their buildings, let their trains and their vehicles go up in flames."

DRAWING LESSONS AND PROVIDING ANALYSIS

The voice of the liberation movement has not been quiet in this period, attempting to bring the authority of its experience and influence to bear on the course of events. A leaflet issued immediately after the June 16th bloodbath paid tribute to our youth for dealing "a massive blow to the white state" and appealed for "solidarity with the fighting youth of Soweto and with the families of those who have been killed." This leaflet, cited in the Rabkin-Cronin trial, called our people to "make this Freedom Day (June 26th) a day of dedication and solidarity with our brothers and sisters, let us honour those who have fallen." An ANC leaflet headed "Amandla Soweto" and distributed in Johannesburg by "leaflet bombs" during June-July announced:

> "The African National Congress calls on all our people in every walk of life – in the factories, townships, mines, schools, farms, to embark on massive protests, actions and demonstrations against white supremacy, against the murder of our children, against Bantu Education, Bantustans, the pass laws and all the hated policies of Apartheid. Now is the time to Act!

> "Sons and Daughters of Africa, stand together firm and united and show the oppressor that we will not be intimidated. We have the strength to hit back. Our organised strength, unity and militant actions will give us more power than Vorster and all his guns. Rally to the call of the ANC – the tried and trusted organisation of all our people that Vorster and his police can never crush! United in this task we will smash the brute force of the oppressor!"

The journals *Vukani* and *Amandla-Maatla* were quick to provide the much needed analysis the situation demanded. The July issue of *Vukani* stated:

> "A number of valuable lessons have been learnt: solidarity actions in other locations and at black campuses showed the importance of spreading the struggle as widely as possible and the necessity of countrywide organisation and co-ordination; because the protests were largely confined to the locations, damage to the economy, the heart of white power, was limited – the struggle must be taken into the cities, the factories, the mines . . . To maintain the militancy and keep the initiative, demands that unite and draw in the broadest mass of the people (Abolish Passes! Down with Bantustans and Group Areas!) must be advanced. Leadership and co-ordination in a police state like South Africa means using both legal and illegal methods of struggle, linking mass protest, strikes and boycotts closely to the underground work of the liberation movement."

In an editorial *Amandla-Maatla* (Vol. 5 No 2) proclaimed:

> "Comrades and Countrymen, this is not the time to weep over our fallen heroes. It is time to hit back at the enemy with everything we have got. It is time to be more skilful and strike at him in small groups so as to vanish quickly. It is time to hit where he is weak and least prepared. Let us disperse him and scatter his forces by hitting at the same time in Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, East London, Maritzburg and other places. Let us make him confused so that he should not know where next we will attack. The African National Congress which leads the national liberation struggle in our country has created its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, to provide you with the art of fighting. Let us therefore join Umkhonto in even bigger numbers and train so as to become better fighters. Bloody Wednesday (June 16th) has shown the urgency of our task to smash Vorster's regime of terror and violence."

EXERT A MORE POWERFUL INFLUENCE

It is clear that the struggle is at a newer, higher stage. Our youth, our people generally, are overcoming terrible ordeals and have not been cowed. Our people are rising for a revolutionary struggle against white supremacy and its backers, and are searching for the way forward. Our propaganda must meet the challenge. We must strive for more regular and wider dissemination of our leaflets and journals to exercise an ever stronger influence and raise the level of consciousness and agitation. We must do all we can to develop our radio broadcasts from friendly African states, for these have played a very important role in inspiring our people. Indeed many youngsters who have left the country to join the ANC and Umkhonto report the powerful stimulus they received from this source. We must strive to create a higher form of organisation by means of journals such as *Inkululeko, Vukani* and *Amandla-Maatla* which must contain a regular record of our people's grievances and struggles, and which must draw definite conclusions from these in accordance with the aims of the liberation movement and the political tasks of the workers and masses generally. Our propaganda must uphold our theory; help achieve a common understanding of the programmatic aims and tactical tasks of the Party and liberation movement, and of our practical methods of work.

The basis for all this has been laid by arduous work, incredible courage, sacrifice and devotion. Many comrades who helped with the spade work are in prison, some are dead. Flowers are blooming where they scattered the seeds. Their work will continue. As with Lenin's *Iskra* our propaganda must become a powerful instrument for organisation serving to unite all those groups, committees and cells already linked with the liberation movement, and all those activists who have been pushed into action by the stirring events of the past six months. Our propaganda must be geared even more powerfully to the battles ahead.

Israel and South Africa unite against Black Liberation

by A. Kalman

The special relationship between Israel and South Africa, climaxed by Vorster's "private" visit to Israel in April 1976, should be seen in the context of Israel's involvement in Africa as a whole.

After World War 2, the successes of the African national liberation movements and the achievement of political independence by most African states, brought about the retreat of imperialism and significantly weakened its positions on the African continent. In the 1950's and 1960's the imperialist powers, particularly the USA and West Germany, launched a new assault on the national liberation struggle, which was entering its next stage, the struggle for economic independence. The renewed imperialist penetration into Africa required large infusions of capital, but because of the general distrust towards the US and West Germany, who were thoroughly discredited in Africa, Israel was employed as a conduit or intermediary for such penetration. Nearly 120 Israeli firms have been doing business in Africa, many of them financed by US and Western European corporations ("Israel and Africa" by A. Monteiro in *Jewish Affairs*, November-December, 1975).

Typically, the Exchange National Bank of Chicago used Israeli financiers as its African conduit. Israeli companies were active in industrial and agricultural planning, often under the guise of providing "technical assistance". In the early 1960's there were hundreds of African students on Israeli university campuses, specialising in engineering, agriculture and other fields – at a time when the Israeli economy was at a very low ebb. The Israeli 'aid' programme was clearly financed by outside sources.

High priority was given to 'military aid'. Military officers such as Mobutu of Congo (later Zaire), and Idi Amin of Uganda, received special military training in Israel. Mobutu was later to play a key role in overthrowing the Lumumba government in Congo. The former President of Uganda, Milton Obote, was overthrown by Idi Amin with the active cooperation and assistance of the Israeli military delegation in Uganda. Colonel Baruch Bar-Lev, who headed the Israeli delegation, explained in an interview to the *New York Times* (reported in *Ha'Aretz* 18 July, 1976) that he "assisted" in the coup because of Obote's intention to expel the Israeli military delegation from Uganda.

The Zionist rulers of Israel have encouraged reactionary separatist movements on the African continent, in order to facilitate imperialist exploitation of mineral resources. Israel supported Tshombe in his attempt to split the copper-rich Katanga region from Congo in the early 1960's; gave active support and encouragement in the attempted secession of oil-rich so-called Biafra from Nigeria; gave direct aid to the secessionists in Southern Sudan during the period of an anti-imperialist government, 1968-1971. The Israeli government supported the feudal regime of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia. It encouraged and offered assistance to the reactionary organisation of French officers in Algeria, the OAS, in its rebellion against de Gaulle's decision to grant independence to Algeria.

In the framework of Israel's role of watchdog of imperialist interests in Africa, one can better understand the special Israel-South African connection.

The Israeli-South African Connection

Israeli-South African links go back to 1917, when General Smuts, the "Special Delegate from South Africa to the British War Cabinet", exerted his influence for the adoption of the Balfour Declaration. His personal ties with the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann (who was later the first President of the State of Israel), and his strong support for the Zionist aims continued until his death in 1950. However, this in no way prevented Smuts from pursuing an anti-Jewish discriminatory immigration policy, declaring in Parliament in April 1947 that "overloading the country with Jews" would lead to anti-Semitism there!

The openly anti-Semitic Nationalist government (Jews were at one time not permitted to be members of the Nationalist Party) which came to power in May 1948, granted special privileges to the South African Zionist Federation, freely permitting the transfer of Zionist funds to Israel at a time when the transfer of money out of South Africa was in general severely restricted. John Vorster, who was later to visit Israel as Nationalist Prime Minister, was interned during the Second World War as a Nazi sympathiser. (In Israel he was invited to lay a wreath at Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the 6 million Jewish victims of Nazi terror. Can one imagine a more disgusting means of whitewashing a pro-Nazi anti-Semite?)

Relations between Israel and South Africa took on a new dimension in the last decade, and especially after the war in October 1973, following the upsurge of the national liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East, and the growing isolation of Israel and South Africa. *Time* (26 April, 1976) reports that trade between the two has multiplied from $3 million in 1961 to $120 million currently (although the figures apparently do not include diamonds and military hardware). In 1974 diplomatic relations between Pretoria and Jerusalem were raised to full ambassadorial level, following visits to South Africa by General Dayan, General Haim Hertzog, former Chief of Israeli Military Intelligence, and General Meir Amit, head of Israel's Koor Industries. The groundwork was laid for a considerable expansion of economic and military cooperation between Israel and South Africa, to be crowned by Vorster's visit to Israel in April 1976 together with his Foreign Minister Muller.

Time writes that the trip to Israel was "especially exhilarating" for South Africa, as Vorster's government has few friends abroad, and the best Vorster could do prior to the Israeli trip was to visit two Latin American military dictatorships in Paraguay and Uruguay. The South African Broadcasting Corporation in an editorial (quoted by *Time*) applauded Vorster's trek and said "they are the only two Western nations to have established themselves in a predominantly non-white part of the world" (!). *Jerusalem Post* (20 April, 1976) in a report from South Africa states that Liberals in South Africa were "stunned by Israel giving apartheid South Africa a degree of acceptance which no other country in the world has up to now been willing to do," and that the deal between the two countries helps to "whitewash" apartheid.

Vorster's visit resulted in the establishment of a joint ministerial committee which would convene at least once a year to discuss and implement specific projects (*Jerusalem Post,* 13 April, 1976). Israel is the first country in the world with which South Africa has set up such a committee. Vorster announced that relations would be expanded in the areas of:

a) encouragement of investments
b) development of trade
c) scientific and technical cooperation
d) joint utilisation of South Africa's raw materials and Israel's know-how and manpower.

We shall now discuss these "areas of collaboration".

The economic connection

In a press interview in 1974, Itzhak Unna, Israel's first Ambassador to South Africa, disclosed that South Africa had raised the ceiling for direct investment in Israel from R7 million to R20 million. He said that Israel had imported $32 million from South Africa in 1973, mainly sugar and cement, and exports had totalled $12 million. (Again diamonds and arms were not mentioned). A report from South Africa two years later (*Jerusalem Post,* 4 August, 1976) indicated that trade between the two countries had almost tripled during the previous four years from R13 million to R37 million, and that semi-processed steel sheets constituted about 40% of South African exports to Israel. At a press conference in Jerusalem, Vorster had mentioned a joint project for processing semi-finished products from South Africa in Israel and then exporting them to the European Economic Community *in order to benefit from the Israeli tariff agreement with the EEC.* Vorster was referring to the joint steel venture Iskoor, in which the Histadruth Koor Industries in Israel held 51% of the shares and the South African Steel Corporation, Iscor, 49%. Semi-processed materials are to be shipped to Israel from the Iscor steel mills at Saldanha Bay for final processing and re-export to Europe (*Jerusalem Post,* 4 August, 1976). The erection of a direct reduction plant in Israel by Iskoor was also contemplated.

In July 1976 Botha, the South African Minister of Mines, visited Israel to negotiate the sale of coal for the new power station being erected near Hadera, which would operate on either coal or oil (*Ha'Aretz,* 3 August, 1976). It was estimated in Pretoria that Israel would buy one million tons of coal annually from South Africa (*Jerusalem Post,* 13 April, 1976). Transport for these and other imports would be made available in Israel by the construction of the Eilat-

Beersheba railway line, which would be financed by South Africa, the steel rails to be provided by Iscor.

At a seminar organised in Johannesburg by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation on The South African-Israeli Pact (*Jerusalem Post,* 4 August, 1976) Dr T.F. Muller, Chairman of Iscor, listed the projects in Israel in which Iscor and South Africa "may perhaps play a role". In addition to the projects already mentioned, Dr Muller mentioned also the construction of a canal to connect the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea and the erection of a hydropower station on it, processing of Dead Sea chemical products and other ventures. *Zo Haderekh,* 18 August 1976, reports the impending visit to Israel of a high level delegation of representatives of the South African electronics, plastics, chemical and metallurgical industries.

Press reports on South African trade with Israel refrain from giving figures on the export of crude diamonds to Israel. The Israeli diamond cutting industry is among the biggest in the world. Moshe Shnitzer, President of the Israeli Diamond Exchange, estimated that Israel diamond exports would reach $700 million in 1976 (*Ha'Aretz,* 19 July, 1976) and that this would increase to $1000 million within three years, with $250 million being the value added by processing in Israel. Now the source of some of the raw diamonds in Angola had meanwhile been blocked (*Ha'Aretz,* 15 August, 1976). The other suppliers are the Oppenheimer controlled 'London Syndicate', which carefully rations the raw diamond supply to the world diamond processing centres, and 'other sources'. The dramatic expansion of Israel's diamond industry is without doubt a special dispensation to Israel in the framework of the overall strengthening of the South Africa-Israeli connection.

The military connection

Community of aims and interests has undoubtedly led to the strengthening of military collaboration between the two countries. Israel's ambassador in South Africa, Itzhak Unna, affirmed that South Africans regard Israel as a "frontline bulwark against Soviet expansionism." A South African military delegation visited Israel in 1967 after the June War to study the military strategy involved, with a view to making it part of the curriculum in South African military colleges (*Jewish Affairs,* November-December, 1975). The British *Guardian* (quoted in *Yedioth Aharanoth* 9 July, 1975) reported that senior Israeli army officers were training the South African army in counter-insurgency methods, and that General Meir Amit, then visiting South Africa (in connection with the Iscor venture) had confirmed the military collaboration between the states. During 1976 General Webster of the SA General Staff, spent some months in the Galilee in Israel (residing in the Hasomer Haitzair kibbutz Sassa) as guest of the army. In the Galilee efficient measures have been developed in dealing with 'infiltrators' from Lebanon and Syria.

The BBC (in a broadcast quoted by *Davar* on 6 August 1976) reported that 50 personnel of the South African navy were being trained near Haifa to man the Reshef missile carrying patrol boats that were being built for South Africa in Israeli shipyards. *Newsweek* (15 August, 1976) states that six such boats were to be supplied.

To supply military hardware appears to be the driving force in South Africa's relations with Israel. The Israeli Uzi gun has long been in use in South Africa. In May 1971, Edwin Ogbu, former head of the UN Committee Against Apartheid, accused the Israeli government of selling arms to South Africa and violating the UN arms embargo (*Jewish Affairs,* November-December 1975). The *Daily Telegraph* (8 September, 1974) reported that Israel was to supply Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles for the South African navy, and that these were to be South Africa's first sea missiles. The sale of these missiles is said to have come "as a bombshell" to Britain and other states who had refused to sell the South Africans the missiles they so desperately needed.

Time (26 April, 1976) quotes Israeli leaders describing Vorster's visit in glowing terms, intimating that Israel would sell Kfir fighter planes, Reshef patrol boats and other military hardware. *Newsweek* (26 April, 1976) writes that Vorster's trip to Israel was prompted by South Africa's interest in financing long-range expansion of Israel's arms industry, thereby paving the way for Israeli arms sales to South Africa. *Newsweek* adds that Vorster reportedly wanted Israel to double its current production of 4 Kfirs a month, which would necessitate the cooperation of the US which licenses the sale of General Electric turbo jets for the fighters. (We note in passing that Israeli negotiations with Austria for the sale of Kfir fighters reportedly face this licensing obstacle, according to *Ha'Aretz* (16 August, 1976). As far as South Africa is concerned it would seem that no such difficulties had arisen – the US, in order to preserve its image in Africa, prefers that military hardware be supplied to South Africa via Israel and other states. *Washington Post* (31 April, 1976) published figures on the rapid increase in South African investments in Israel's war industry. In 1976 they would amount to R20 million and R32 million in 1977 as against R11 million in 1975. During his sojourn in Israel, Vorster visited the Israeli aircraft industry and an air force base, indicating where his main interests lay.

Washington Post (31 April, 1976), summarising the situation, describes US aid to Israel as a means of providing aid to South Africa against whom there is an official embargo. The newspaper describes the US-Israel-South Africa relationship as a satanic triangle directed against the national liberation movement in Africa and against the struggle of the Arab countries to put an end to the consequences of Israeli aggression.

The nuclear connection

The least publicised area of the South African-Israeli relationship but the most sinister and potentially the most dangerous, is the nuclear connection.

At the time of Vorster's visit Israeli leaders intimated that, in return for military hardware, Israel would receive from South Africa strategic material such as coal, chrome, platinum, titanium and uranium (*Time,* 26 April, 1976). South Africa is at present the second largest uranium producer outside the socialist states with about 25% of the known reserves.

In April 1975 Vorster announced completion of the first stage of a pilot plant for uranium enrichment, using technology (as detailed in *Sechaba* November-December, 1975) supplied by the STEAG corporation of the Federal Republic of Germany. In June 1975 a pilot plant was commissioned at Pelindaba to produce uranium hexafluoride, the gaseous 'feed material' for the enrichment plant. In April 1975 Mr Roux, chairman of the Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR) disclosed that a R910 million uranium enrichment plant would be constructed as an internationally financed venture to produce 5,000 tons of enriched uranium a year by 1986, with a development potential of 10,000 tons (*Sechaba,* First Quarter 1976). It was expected to come into operation by 1984. In view of an expected world production gap of 6,000 tons of uranium per year by 1985, South Africa would become a major world supplier and would involve many countries in the apartheid economy.

We note at this stage that natural uranium contains 0.7% of the light isotope U 235. For operation of nuclear reactors the natural uranium must be enriched until it contains about 3% of U235. In principle a plant that enriches to 3% can also enrich up to 90% by continued recycling and this is the concentration necessary to build atomic bombs. The South African government is fully aware of this option.

On 12 July 1974 Louw Alberts, vice chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, boasted that South Africa was able to produce the atomic bomb, and in an interview with *Newsweek* (17 May, 1976) Vorster emphasised that South Africa had not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and that her 'defences' included a nuclear capability.

Uranium enrichment to weapon-grade concentration is not the only nuclear option. In February 1974 Dr Straszacker, Chairman of the South African Electricity and Supply Commission (ESCOM), announced that a power plant consisting of two nuclear reactors of nearly 2,000 Megawatt total capacity would be built at Koeberg near Cape Town, and start operating by 1982. At the end of May, 1976 a $1,000 million contract was signed with a French consortium for the erection of the plants (*New Times,* No 24, 1976). The French government significantly is also a non-signatory to the non-proliferation treaty. It is estimated that the plutonium which would be extracted from these plants will suffice to construct 100 atomic bombs. The technology would be far simpler and cheaper than that based on uranium enrichment. At this stage Israel comes in to the picture.

With the supply of enriched uranium guaranteed Israel, who like South Africa, has refused to adhere to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, has ordered two reactors from the USA with a capacity of 1970 megawatts. The plutonium-rich spent uranium is to be processed outside of Israel under strict US supervision but Israel has firmly refused to have supervision extended to the nuclear reactor in Dimona (*Davar,* . 6 August, 1976) where Israel's nuclear capability has presumably been developed. General Dayan has frequently boasted of Israel's nuclear option and President Katzir has spoken openly of Israel's nuclear potential. *Wehrtechnik* (No 6, June 1976), the organ of arms manufacturers of the Federal Republic of Germany, has been more specific, claiming that Israel possesses 13 atomic bombs.

The South Africa-Israeli Pact, concluded during Vorster's visit to Israel, provided for scientific and technical cooperation and this evidently includes nuclear cooperation (c.f. Meir Vilner's address in the Israeli Knesset, 15 June, 1976, condemning the pact with South Africa and the intention of nuclear collaboration: *Zo Haderekh,* 16 June, 1976). The proposed nuclear alliance of two bankrupt regimes to threaten the national liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East; an alliance which proposes to maintain an apartheid regime in South Africa and an expansionist policy of military occupation in the

Middle East, with the aid of nuclear blackmail – must be condemned and thwarted at all costs.

The "tripartite axis" – Pretoria-Tel Aviv-Teheran

A direct consequence of the liberation of Mozambique and Angola has been intensive imperialist activity (coordinated by Kissinger) to bolster up Vorster's racist regime, imperialism's main bulwark in Africa against the African national liberation movement. NATO provided direct support in modernising and re-equipping the South African army – anti-tank missiles from the Federal Republic of Germany, Mirage fighters, air-to-air missiles and Agosta submarines from France, Hercules transport planes from the USA, planes and missile boats from Israel – in addition to large investments in the South African war industry, including the sale of patents and licences for the manufacture of military hardware.

Another step was to consolidate the alliance with Teheran. *Jerusalem Post* (10 May, 1976) quoted diplomatic sources in Cape Town who described Vorster's impending visit to Iran as "an attempt to establish a kind of Pretoria-Jerusalem-Teheran axis." In 1973 Iran was the only major oil producer to ignore the Arab oil embargo of South Africa, and is today the chief oil supplier to South Africa (and to Israel). Reports from South Africa indicated that Vorster's talks in Iran were to centre around Iran's plans to develop her nuclear capability. Subsequent reports of agreement between American and French concerns to supply Iran with nuclear reactors, which would evidently be fuelled with enriched uranium from South Africa, complete the picture. Kissinger, announcing an agreement in Teheran (7 August, 1976) to sell $10,000 million worth of American arms to Iran in the next four years in exchange for oil, declared that the US would consider the possibility of assisting Iran to finance the acquisition of nuclear fuel "from a third country" as a solution to the deadlock concerning the supervision that the US would be obliged to maintain over the reactors she would supply to Iran. Kissinger elaborated that the deadlock (to be so elegantly resolved) concerned the plutonium, necessary for the atomic bomb, which would be produced in reactors (*Ha'Aretz*, 8 August, 1976).

Plutonium and bombs: South African fuel and Israeli know-how. The Tel Aviv-Teheran link in the axis is longstanding. Although there are no diplomatic relations with Iran, Israel maintains a large unofficial diplomatic mission in Teheran. Iran is one of Israel's main trading partners. Most of Israel's oil comes from Iran, and Iranian oil is also transported through the Eilat-Ashkelon pipeline on the way to Europe. Israeli construction and industrial corporations operate in Iran, but the main connection is military. Details have been reported in *Orbis*, organ of the American Institute for Foreign Policy in Winter 1975. Hundreds of young Iranian officers have undergone training in Israel, as have the Security Service personnel and anti-insurgency units. A pact signed in May, 1969 provided for equipping the Iranian army with Israeli electronic equipment and training the Iranian operators. In 1972 it is estimated that Iran purchased military equipment from Israel – including Gabriel missiles worth $100 million.

Arms, oil, plutonium, atomic bombs: these constitute the material basis for a tripartitite axis, developing under the auspices of the American Big Brother directed against the national liberation movement in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and the African continent. The South African racists, the Zionist expansionists and the Persian feudal monarchy have taken upon themselves the somewhat difficult job of holding up the march of history.

Also available from

Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street
London W1.

Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary
by Brian Bunting. Price: South Africa R5.00, Africa £1.50,
Britain £3.00, All other countries $8.00 (US).

50 Fighting Years: The South African Communist Party 1921-1971
by A. Lerumo. Price: North America $4.00, All other countries £1.25.

The Road to South African Freedom: Programme of the SACP
(Hard cover only) Price 50p.

International Meeting of Communist & Workers Parties, Moscow 1969.
Price £1.00 ($3.00).

CRISIS IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN

by a member of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party

The Sudan became a British Colony in 1898. It won its independence in January 1956. There are two major ethnic groups in the Sudan, the Arab ethnic group which inhabits the Northern Sudan, and the Negroid race the Southern Sudan.

Before the slave trade reached the Sudan the relation between the Negroid South and the Arab North was good. The slave trade, when it came to the South, was conducted by Arabs acting as middlemen for the European slavers.

The slave trade disrupted the normal life in the Southern Sudan. In this period from 1821 to 1898, while southerners were on the run suffering hunger, epidemics and want, in the Northern Sudan commerce and trade were prospering and schools for teaching the Koran were advancing to secular ones.

This was the first manifestation of the uneven development of South and North.

In 1898 British and Egyptian troops conquered the Sudan and a condominium was set up. But since Egypt itself was under British rule, the administration of the Sudan was squarely in the hands of British colonialism, and its policy in the Southern Sudan was called "maintenance of law and order". The Southern tribes led by their chiefs fought back until 1929 when the last resistance of the South was put down.

This resistance to colonialism, a positive tradition in the history of the Southern Sudan, was later followed and extended by the progressive sectors in the Southern political movement. The colonial administration only purused a pacification policy in the South. It did not concern itself with the establishment of schools, social services, or with economic projects. At this stage education was left to Christian missionary societies which taught religion, arithmetic and vernacular, with a school period of four years. In the Northern Sudan the situation was different. The Gezira Cotton growing scheme was started and a railway line linking Wadi Halfa with Egypt and Khartoum made it possible to transport the cotton to England. In the field of education many schools were established, including the Gordon Memorial College which later became the University of Khartoum. In addition, Egypt was giving scholarships to Sudanese to study in Egyptian schools and universities. All these meant progress, commerce and trade flourished and new forces appeared represented by the working class, the officials, merchants etc. Thus when the Sudan won its independence in 1956, the South was far behind the North. British colonialism had consciously created the unequal development between North and South.

During the independence struggle the Southern people fought against the conspiracy to separate South from North contained in the British Southern policy. This policy prevented Southerners travelling to the North and Northerners travelling to the South except with special permits. A no-man's land was created at the border between the North and the South. The use of Arabic was prohibited and Southerners with Muslim names were ordered to change their names. The wearing of Jallabia, Arab dress, was banned in the Southern Sudan and tailors were forbidden to make them.

British Southern policy was attacked by the national liberation movement in the North and in 1936, with the support of the Southern nationalists, the colonial administration was forced to abandon its Southern policy. The Southern political movement demanded the abolition of the British Southern policy. It called for equal wages between the North and the South, unity with the national liberation movement in the North, and the independence of the Sudan.

Colonial Reaction

This was the beginning of serious progressive political movement in the South. It angered the British colonialists. Since the movement was spearheaded by government officials, the colonial administration transferred the most active members to remote parts of the South. At the same time the colonial administration groomed its own southern politicians and organised them into a political party, the Southern Liberal Party. The stand of the Liberal Party was pro-British colonialism. It had scant support and as a result the 1954 elections to the first Sudanese parliament were won by the progressive southern politicians. The rightists won only a few seats in this parliament which was to prepare the Sudan for independence. Progressive southern parliamentarians allied with the National Unionist Party (NUP) to form the government. The NUP is a party of the petty bourgeoisie, traders and bourgeoisie. The progressive southerners joined it to form the government because the NUP promised to develop the South. But when NUP came to government it did not fulfil its promises. This gave the Southern rightists the chance to attack the left South. This situation, together with manipulations by British administration, led to the 1955 Southern disturbances, which further stimulated the activities of the Southern rightists.

At this time military operations were being carried on by Southern separatists – those who wanted to separate the South from the North by military means. During this period some southern rightists left the country to carry on the political work of the separatist movement. This period marked the peak of the political dominance of the rightist movement in the South. At this time the NUP government ushered in naked force to subdue the rebellion in the South. This still further weakened the position of the Southern progressives in the government who were accused of collaborating with the Arab domination of the South.

The politicians who fled from the Sudan became known as the 'self-exiled politicians'. In exile these Southerners formed the Sudan African National Union (SANU), the political organisation of the separatists, while their military force was known as the Anyanya.

In 1958 the army took over power in the Sudan. They abolished all democratic rights and banned all political parties and popular organisations. They declared war on the South where Anyanya groups were fighting for separation.

In the period of the NUP government and other national governments no economic development had taken plce in the South and little was done even to lay a basis for economic development. But during the military regime the situation was aggravated by the abolition of democracy.

It was in this situation that the Sudanese Communist Party started to organise the Sudanese masses to overthrow the military regime. The efforts of the Communist Party were rewarded when, in October 1964, a popular uprising overthrew the military regime and a caretaker government was formed which held office from October 1964 to February 1965. It was led by progressive forces of all political parties in the Sudan with the Sudanese Communist Party playing a leading role. This government included two Southerners, one with the post of Minister of the Interior and the other that of Transport and Communications. This was the first time that Southerners had held such important ministries and showed that the October government was serious about solving the Southern problem. In fact it put the Southern problem on the top of its agenda and made contact with the separatist politicians both outside and inside the country, calling for a peaceful solution to the Southern problem. In the light of this approach, it asked the Southerners to a Round Table Conference in which all the political parties in the North would participate.

At this time Southern intellectuals had formed the 'Southern Front,' a political party which, although claiming to be independent of the Sudan African National Union upheld the stand and views of SANU inside the Sudan. Their political stand was anti-communist and in favour of alliance with the traditional northern political parties. In 1965 this Southern Front allied with the traditional forces in the North and made it possible for these forces to overthrow the first October government. A new government, the second October government, was formed which was dominated by pro-imperialist, bourgeois and separatist elements.

The Round Table Conference was convened in March 1965 at a time when the balance of forces was thus in favour of the reactionary forces. This, in addition to the fact that different solutions to the Southern Problem were presented by the different southern political parties, led to the failure of the Round Table Conference.

At this time there was a split in SANU, one wing calling for federation and the other calling for separation. The one calling for separation called itself the Azanian Liberation Movement, while the other retained the name of SANU. After the failure of the Round Table Conference the situation returned to that at the time of the military regime. Fighting in the Southern Sudan was renewed and on a higher level, especially after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 when Israel gave military training and equipment to the Anyanya. It was in these circumstances that Nimeiry came to power through a coup d'etat on 25 May, 1969.

Progressive Reforms

The problems facing the Sudan were many and difficult. The Sudanese people, remembering the progressive programme of the First October Government, wanted a non-capitalist way of development. So when Nimeiry came to power, he included in his government not only democrats and progressives, but also communists. The Revolution Command Council included two communists and one democrat together with nationalists, pro-Egyptians and followers of the late Jamal Abdel Nasser. The Council of Ministers was formed in the same way as the Revolution Command Council. At this stage, the balance of forces was in favour of the revolutionary and progressive forces, and government policies were dictated by the revolutionary momentum prevailing in the country. Hence the regime pursued progressive policies, including the nationalisation of banks, factories and insurance companies. A policy of land reform was undertaken, a unified labour system statute was passed and the southern region's right to self rule was recognised. This last event announced by Nimeiry on 9 June, 1969, became known as the 9 June Declaration. This declaration recognised the historical difference between South and North. It criticised the colonial policies in the South and the policies pursued by the national governments. It criticised southern separatist politicians for pursuing policies which created hatred between the people of the South and North, while at the same time allying themselves with reactionary forces in the North. It criticised the military regime of 1958 for using force against the Southern people. The June 9 Declaration made it clear that the Southern problem was not racial or religious but was caused by the uneven development between North and South, and stated that regional self-rule within one Sudan was the solution.

The Declaration laid down a programme of action which would prepare the ground for the actual realisation of self rule for the Southern Region. This programme was:

- the creation of an economic base for the southern region;
- the training of southern cadres to prepare them to assume the administration in the southern region (this involved the promotion of southerners to leading administrative posts);
- the development of the southern culture;
- the building of a democratic and socialist-oriented movement in the South, tied with that in the northern Sudan.

This programme was drawn up by the Sudanese Communist Party, and was accepted by Nimeiry as his government's official policy on the southern Region. To carry out this programme, martyr comrade Joseph

Ukel Garang was appointed as Minister of State for Southern Affairs. His task was to advise the government on how best to implement his programme. Despite difficulties, comrade Garang, with the help of the Sudanese Communist Party and the mass popular organisations, achieved remarkable results.

A special development budget was approved for the Southern Region.

All the production ministries, represented by an assistant secretary, participated in a committee for the development of the South. These ministries were to deal with the South through the Southern Affairs ministry.

Southerners were promoted to leading positions for the first time; e.g. two unit commandants in the army, a police commandant, a commandant of prisons, an ambassador. In the South, government units which were not headed by southerners had southerners promoted to deputy heads and several southerners entered the foreign service.

Agreement was reached with institutes of learning, including the University of Khartoum, for one fifth of their intake to be southerners. This applied also to the police, prisons and military colleges.

In pursuance of the creation of a broad democratic movement in the South, progressive officials were transferred to the Southern Region.

The mass popular organisations opened offices in the South, run by members in the central committees of these organisations. Southern leaders in the mass popular organisations were sent for training in the North, and in the socialist countries. The southern democrats and communists were working hard to consolidate these gains of the southern masses.

But in November 1970, Nimeiry, under pressure from the reactionary forces and pro-Egyptian elements, and fearful lest his regime became too revolutionary for him to control, ousted the communists and the democrats from the Revolution Command Council. This was the first right-wing turn of the Nimeiry regime and as time passed Nimeiry came into total confrontation with the progressive forces in the Sudan. Women's, youth and other organisations were banned. New laws restricted the trade union movement.

Coup and Counter-Coup

On 19 July, 1971 Hashim El Atta, who had been expelled from the Revolution Command Council in November 1970, led a military coup against the Nimeiry regime. The coup put forward the national democratic front programme as its programme. Hence it won the name of the 'Rectification Revolution'. The programme won overwhelming support from the Sudanese masses both in the South and the North, shown by the huge demonstrations of support which took place all over the major towns in the Sudan. But Hashim's coup was defeated and Nimeiry returned to power in a bloody, counter-revolutionary coup, in which leaders of the Communist Party, the trade union movement, the popular organisations and the army were killed.

Nimeiry was wild and hysterical, and in this mood many of the best sons of the Sudan lost their lives. He pursued policies of the far right. He turned to the imperialist countries for support, sweetened relations with the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany and exchanged ambassadors. Relations with Egypt, Libya and Saudi Arabia were close. Ethiopia under Haile Selassie, Kenya, Uganda and other reactionary African countries were drawing Nimeiry into their circle . . . The World Council of Churches began to talk Nimeiry into reaching an agreement with the southern separatists. China rushed in to welcome the anti-sovietism pursued by Nimeiry. It was in these conditions that the ground grew ripe for imperialism to promote an agreement between Nimeiry and the separatists.

The Addis Ababa agreement of March, 1972 stated the following points:

- The formation of a southern government and parliament.
- Both parties, government and separatists, to cease fighting.
- Resettlement of the southern returnees.
- The army in the southern region to be 12,000 composed of 6,000 Anyanyas and 6,000 old army.
- The police and prisons forces to be southernised.

In the light of the Addis Ababa Agreement a caretaker government for the Southern Region was formed. It was known as the Provisional High Executive Council (PHEC). The PHEC was formed in such a way as to allow participation of all the southern reactionary political groupings and to give the lion's share to the self-exiled separatist politicians. This was meant to convince them of the good intentions of Nimeiry in 'solving' the Southern Problem. Those imperialist circles who played a great role in bringing about the Addis Ababa Agreement also saw to it that their agents were placed in the PHEC, which was formed in April 1972 and was to be in office for 18 months.[1] In this period it was to:

- Repatriate and rehabilitate the southern returnees.
- Prepare for the elections of the Regional People's Assembly.

– Carry out the administration of the Southern Region i.e. to act as a government.

The work of repatriating and rehabilitating the southern refugees was the first test of the PHEC. Despite the huge aid received from socialist and capitalist countries, charity organisations and the Sudanese masses, any person visiting the Southern Region today will find that nothing has been done. Indeed many of the charitable organisations have discontinued help and many others have stopped the projects they wanted to fulfil in the Southern Region. It has become clear to these organisations that the government of the Southern Region is not seriously carrying out the work of rehabilitation. Most of the aid given has found its way to the black market. Schemes which were started by martyr comrade Joseph W. Garang, like the Malakal Livelihood Scheme and the Marialbai Ranching Scheme, were stopped. These were schemes to help settle the returnees and which would enable them to stand on their own feet after a short period of government help.

Indeed the PHEC and the committees for resettlement had no programme of resettlement. Money and material aid were handed to offficials to distribute to the returnees; but the corruption which emerged in practice only enriched the PHEC and its officials of resettlement. Many cases of corruption reported to the police did not reach the law courts, because they involve the whole system in the country.

Those returnees who were employed on work charged against resettlement funds were laid off in hundreds in 1973. Those who remained did not receive their wages for several months. In fact, after the Addis Ababa Agreement, 21,000 Southerners were employed as officials in the civil service as part of the process of 'southernisation' of civil posts. These officials were supposed to be paid from the resettlement fund. At times these officials spend three to five months without receiving their wages, and workers, teachers and civil servants have on many occasions gone on strike because their wages were not forthcoming. In Fanjak in Upper Nile Province officials took to farming in order to feed their families.

In short, the PHEC failed to meet the task of resettling the returnees, because it did not lay down concrete means of resettlement. This made the southern people doubt the Addis Ababa Agreement.

Regional People's Assembly

The PHEC was to prepare the ground for elections to the Regional People's Assembly. In this connection not much can be said, because the PHEC was mainly preparing its own members for election. All the members of the PHEC except the president contested the elections to the Regional People's Assembly. This is not surprising, but what is surprising is that they entered the elections without the PHEC having been dissolved. Since this was the body preparing the ground for the elections, it should itself have been dissolved before the elections took place to prevent corrupt practices being employed during the elections.

For there was certainly corruption. As ministers, the PHEC members used government facilities to further their personal election campaigns. Workers were induced by threats to campaign and vote for their ministers. Despite this huge misuse of government facilities, of the 11 ministers of PHEC, 5 were defeated at the polls.[2] After the elections a government known as the High Executive Council (HEC) was formed.[3]

The Southern Government

The caretaker government, PHEC, had failed to satisfy the basic needs of the southern people. There were shortages and an absence of consumer goods. Education came to a stop and schools were closed as the contractors cut off school food supplies because PHEC could not pay the bills. Health services were greatly neglected and hospitals and health centres had no medicines. Additional taxes were levied on the southern people, but in the field of economic development nothing was done.

Life for the middle class southerner, let alone that of the poor southerner, became impossible. But for the ministers, directors and big government officials life was milk and honey. Their situation was correctly expressed by Clement Mboro when he was the Commissioner General of the Repatriation and Rehabilitation Commission. "We live" he said, "in peace as glorious as it could be."

The southern masses hoped that after the elections and the formation of the High Executive Council the situation would improve. But their hopes were not fulfilled.

The way the High Executive Council (HEC) was formed shows that the Nimeiry regime was turning away from the Addis Ababa Agreement. The PHEC had included only two members of the Southern Front, but in the HEC there were six, together with one SANU representative and six self-exiled separatists. This indicates that the policy of representing all political groups was being abandoned, and in essence Nimeiry was creating a stooge regime in the South.

Of course, since democratic freedoms have been denied to the whole Sudanese people, it would be utopian to think that Nimeiry would extend them to the southern masses. Indeed the silence of the Addis Ababa Agreement on these matters did not arise out of forgetfulness.

Its silence on the question of democracy and democratic freedoms is due to the fact that the 'solution' of the southern problem reached at Addis Ababa is in essence undemocratic. The Addis Ababa Agreement was concluded against the basic interests of the southern people and against the slogan of 'Regional Autonomy for the Southern Region' advanced by the democratic forces in the Sudan led by the gallant Sudanese Communist Party. This was the slogan at first recognised by Nimeiry and upheld in the declaration of 9 June, 1969, which comrade Garang had been implementing as a minister in the Nimeiry government. And it was because of his consistent and genuine implementation of this programme that he was later treacherously murdered by Nimeiry in 1971.

So when HEC was formed it did not satisfy the aspirations of the southern people. It embarked instead on glamorous expenditure, on elegant cocktail parties satisfying the pompous wishes of ministers and leading civil servants, on lavish expenditure on an empty government political organisation, the Sudanese Socialist Union, and on huge expenditure on the civil service and security police. These expenditures exhausted budget allocations intended for social services and for development projects.

In this way the situation became even worse than in the period of PHEC. Opposition to HEC mounted. Students demonstrated, went on strike, and in one instance took over the school administration for seven days. Workers went on strike and sent delegations and petitions to Khartoum demanding the basic necessities of life. Masses of the people led by workers and students staged huge demonstrations in Juba in October 1974, and in clashes with the police, two students were shot dead.

Opposition to HEC was joined by a number of members of the Regional People's Assembly and HEC, which led the Assembly to pass a vote of no confidence in its pro-HEC speaker. The opposition of some members of the Regional People's Assembly also gave rise to the formation of underground political parties.

The great opposition to HEC was reflected in the affairs of HEC itself and in August 1975 Abel Alier reshuffled its membership.[4]

This reshuffle of HEC membership put Abel Alier in a position to control HEC and allowed him to wield power alone. In this way Nimeiry made certain of his dictatorship over the whole country. But the reshuffle also stepped up opposition against Abel Alier and his HEC. Before this reshuffle a large number of southerners made no criticism of Nimeiry, as they believed that the evils of the southern region were caused by Abel Alier and that if he was removed things would be wonderful. For them Nimeiry seemed a good president who meant to solve the Southern Problem. But when they found out that Nimeiry not only supported the activities of Abel Alier, but that he was behind all Abel's activities, people turned against Nimeiry and started to question the Addis Ababa Agreement.

This mass opposition involved the absorbed Anyanya forces as well as the police and prison forces in the southern region. That 'confidence' and 'national unity' which are always spoken of by Nimeiry and Abel Alier are nowhere to be found. In Akobo, in Upper Nile Province, on 2 March 1974, absorbed Anyanya mutinied, killed Lt.-Col Abel Col and other soldiers and took over Akobo town for 7 days, holding it without communication with the other parts of the country. After that, a great majority of the absorbed Anyanya of Akobo Garrison crossed the border into Ethiopia, taking with them their arms and ammunition.

Towards the end of 1975 and the beginning of 1976, the situation within the absorbed Anyanya was riddled with revolt and mutiny, and incidents occured which resulted in the deaths of some army officers.

Thus it can be said correctly that the Addis Ababa Agreement has failed to solve the Southern Problem. And the southern people are not only turning against it, but are also calling for the removal of the Nimeiry regime. Southern students at the University of Khartoum, for example, sent a memorandum to Nimeiry, questioning the legitimacy of his regime when it does not solve the problems of the masses.

In the face of such opposition, HEC is becoming more repressive. Police persecution of the masses has been greatly stepped up and many persons are in custody, including separatist politicians such as Joseph Oduho, Joseph Malath and Banjamin Bol, all members of Regional People's Assembly. Notwithstanding the repression, the southern people continue to struggle for a just solution of their problem and recently even reactionary politicians have been looking for means of cooperation with progressive forces in the Northern Sudan. These politicians have found out that their old methods of political work and slogans are outdated and that the masses of the southern people are becoming more conscious day by day, calling for the unity of the Sudan and for progress for the Sudan in general, for the southern region especially.

The Solution of the Southern Problem

If the Addis Ababa Agreement has failed to solve the southern problem, what then is the solution? To answer this question we must first define the present Nimeiry regime thus:

Power is in the hands of pro-capitalists, of imperialist agents, and of persons seconded to Nimeiry by imperialist powers. In the southern region these elements hold power through bureaucracy and thugs. The Nimeiry regime, consisting of new and old imperialist agents, is tuned to the capitalist way of development. But this capitalist way of development has been rejected by the Sudanese people. With the experience of October 1974, and of the programme adopted by martyr comrade Hashim El-Atta and his colleagues on 19 July, 1971, the regime cannot follow the capitalist way of development without complete suppression of popular democratic rights. This represents the essence of the Sudan.

Therefore progress in the Sudan and the solution of the country's problems, including the Southern problem, cannot be realised by a national democratic regime. It can only be achieved by the defeat of the whole regime and its system. This forms the basic difference between the Sudanese Communist Party and the right wing opposition. The southern problem can only be solved if the root cause of that problem is removed: that root cause is the uneven economic and cultural development as between south and north. To erase this it is necessary:

- To create an economic basis in the south which will enable the southern region to stand on its own. After this, with help from the central government, to raise the economic development of the southern region to an economic level equal to the North.
- To train southern personnel to carry out the tasks of raising the level of economic development in the southern region to that of the north.
- To develop the southern culture.
- To build a democratic, socialist oriented movement allied to that in the northern Sudan.

In short the solution of the southern problem lies in the 9 June 1969 Declaration – *regional self-rule within a united Sudan.*

The task before us in the southern region, therefore, is to mobilise the people around the slogan "Return to the 9 June Declaration."

This task is tremendous. It includes the defeat of HEC and of the Nimeiry system as a whole. For such a task, we need the support and solidarity of the international revolutionary movement, led and spearheaded by the socialist countries. We ask for that support now!

Footnotes:

1. PHEC was formed of: Southern Front Party members with Abel Alier as President and Hillary Paul Logali; the Sudan African National Union (SANU) with Samuel Aru and Dr Toby Maduot; the Umma Party with Luigi Adwok and the self-exiled separatist politicians – Mading de Garang, Michael Wal, Dr Gama Hassa, Joseph Oduho, Ezboni Mondiri, Michael Tawil, Elia Lupe.

2. The five defeated ministers were Samuel Aru, President of SANU; Luigi Adwok, once a member of the Supreme Commission i.e. presidential college; Michael Wal, the Anyanya US representative; Ezboni Mondiri, a leading separatist politician, Minister of Communications in 1964; and Elia Lupe, a prominent separatist politician.

3. The HEC consisted of:
Southern Front: Abel Alier, President; Hillary Paul Logali, Moses Chuol, Lubari Ramba, Justin Yac, Natale Wluak, Lawrence Lual Lual.
SANU: Dr Toby Maduot.
Self-exiled separatists: Mading de Garang, Dr Gama Hassan, Joseph Oduho, Ezboni Mondiri, Michael Tawil, Lawrence Wol Wol.

4. *Southern Front:* Abel Alier, Peter Gatkuot, Moses Chuol, Lubari Ramba, Justin Yac, Natale Wluak, Lawrence Lual Lual.
SANU: Ezekiel Kodi.
Self-exiled separatists: Mading de Garang, Gama Hassan, Lawrence Wol Wol, Oliver Albino.

AFRICA: NOTES AND COMMENTS

AN HISTORIC ADVANCE – THE FOUNDING OF THE SOMALI REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY (SRSP)

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by force, labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class."[1]

An historic step in the direction so brilliantly illuminated by Lenin, was taken by the creation of the SRSP on June 27, 1976.

A representative gathering of approximately 3,000 of the most advanced and conscious workers, peasants, soldiers, youth, women, intellectuals, small businessmen and nomads held at the Academy of Armed Forces in Mogadishu unanimously adopted the decision to create the new Party. The meeting also elected with acclaim President Siad Barre, Secretary General, 5 members of the Political Bureau and a Central Committee of 74 members. In addition a new constitution and the

Party programme were adopted giving general guidelines on the economic, political and social policies which are to be followed and spelling out the future responsibilities of the Party.

President Barre said the SRSP "would be the vehicle which would translate the economic and political aspirations of the nation into realities. Lenin had said 'Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' The organisation needed is a revolutionary party which can direct the new changes, and whose guidance is scientific socialism and the experiences socialists have gained in their long struggle."[2]

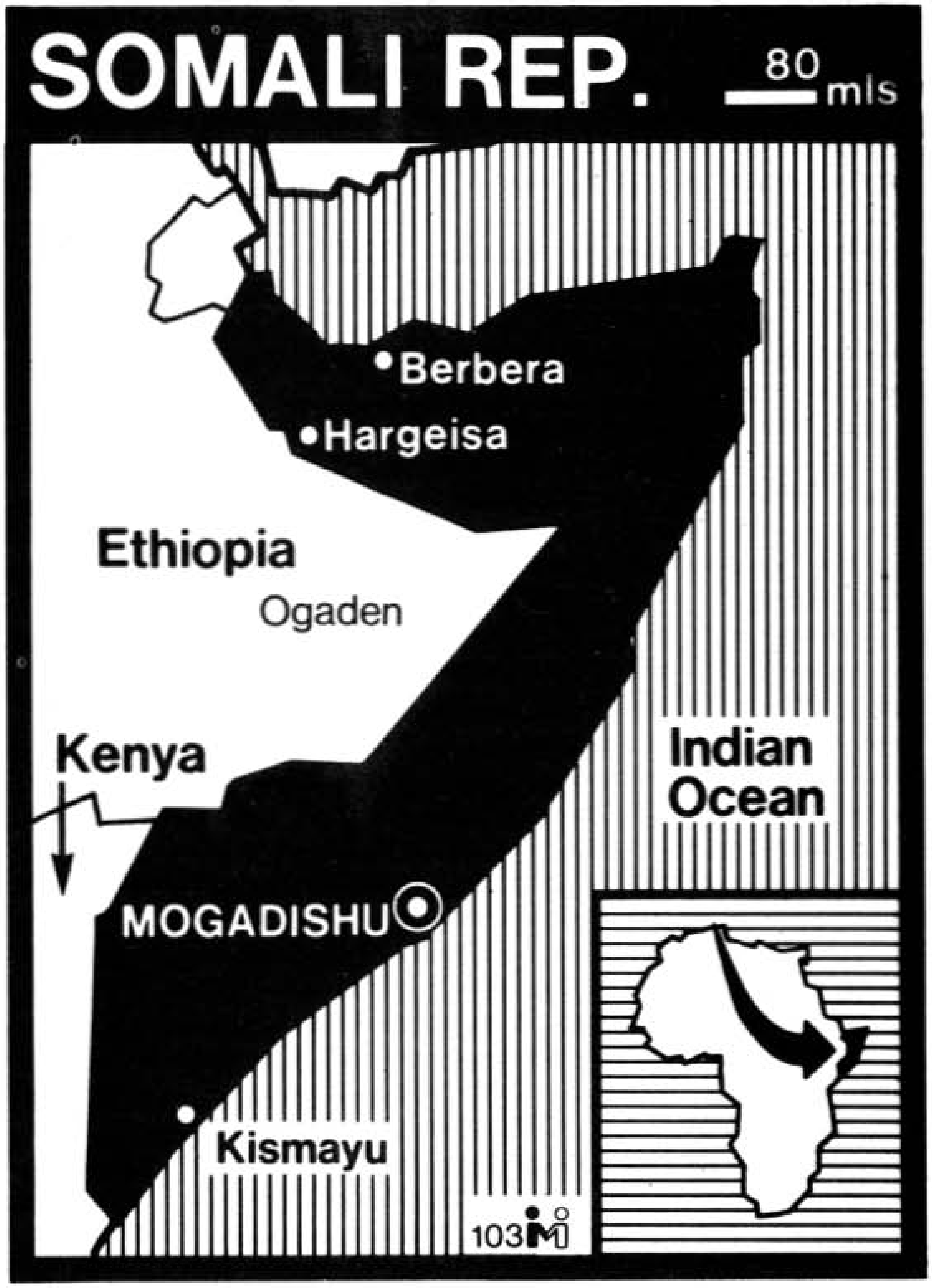
However, as leading Somalis have pointed out, the declaration founding the Party is only the first step. Thereafter a great deal of hard work has to be carried out to ensure that the Party becomes the genuine repository of the people's aspirations and deep longing for a better and more satisfying life.

If a Party is not to degenerate into a bureaucratic elitist type of organisation it must consistently and with vigour fight and aim for (a) the closest ties between the Party and the masses, (b) unity and a high sense of discipline within the Party, (c) ideological clarity and unity and (d) the principle of collective leadership at every level of the organisation.

A Party true to the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin must be a force capable of guiding and organising the people for revolutionary change. A vanguard Party is not a trade union or a substitute for mass organisations of workers, peasants, students, women and youth. It is composed of the most advanced and healthy elements of society united by a high degree of discipline, ideological clarity and purposive action, and in constant touch and bond with the masses.

Let us emphasise what life has irrefutably demonstrated, that to build a socialist society leading to communism, it is absolutely essential to have a Party that is not only equipped with a revolutionary theory, but in practice in their daily activities, its leaders and members fulfil their tasks and responsibilities in a comradely, collective and disciplined way. Otherwise the Party becomes divorced from its very soul and blood, the toiling masses.

By the creation of the SRSP the initial steps have been taken, but there is still a long and arduous road to travel. Communists and all other anti-imperialist forces in Africa and internationally welcome this move as it has the potentialities of further deepening the struggle for national and social liberation. For Africa in particular the success and development of the SRSP will reinforce and emphasise the correct thesis that it is not possible to bring about fundamental socio-economic


SOMALI REP.
80 mls
Berbera
Hargeisa
Ethiopia
Ogaden
Kenya
Indian Ocean
MOGADISHU
Kismayu
103

changes without an organisation of revolutionaries mobilised and steeled in a consistently anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist Party based on the genuine support of the people.

According to Yassin Haji Ismail, the Somalis are confident that they can create such a Party. He writes:

"(The SRSP) which is based on the principles of democratic centralism, iron discipline, criticism and self-criticism is sure to grow stronger with the passage of time, always gaining in popularity, acquiring more numerical strength, accumulating rich experience and developing in a healthy way. It will raise the ideological and theoretical level of party members, strengthen its ties with, and come closer to, the mass of non-party people and exercise a revolutionary influence on them. Ideological work will therefore concentrate on the task of instructing all party members in the Revolutionary Marxist theory, deepening their political knowledge and teaching them to understand more correctly the events taking place in their country and abroad."[3]

Notes

1. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol 1, Moscow, 1967, p 440.
2. *New Era*, Monthly Publication of the Ministry of Information and National Guidance of the Somali Democratic Republic, July, 1976, p 26.
3. Ibid., p 34.

IVORY COAST "ECONOMIC MIRACLE" – A FALSE IMAGE

Last year the pro-monopoly journal *African Development* (August 1976), following the well orchestrated propaganda campaign in the imperialist world to laud the so-called "economic miracle" of the Ivory Coast, carried a special survey on that country. To begin with, the reasons for the vast sums of foreign, private and state investments poured into the Ivory Coast principally by France are completely ignored. The imperialist powers, fearing the spread of progressive ideas in Africa at the time that Ghana and Guinea were endeavouring to pursue anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist policies, launched a concerted campaign to "develop" the Ivory Coast, so as to use its "development" to fight the ideas of socialism, anti- neocolonialism and anti-capitalism.

Bombarded by statistics, we are asked to believe that the "Ivorian miracle" in agriculture has been achieved without any deep divisions within Ivorian society and "above all by superb planning". Quoting un-critically Houphouet Boigny's statement that 94% of agricultural production comes from the peasants themselves, not surprisingly there is no breakdown of who owns what land in the Ivory Coast. No distinction is made between the large land-owners, middle peasants and poor peasants.[1] Above all, the editor, Alan Rake, underplays one of the main reasons explaining the so-called "agricultural miracle": that is the super-exploitation of the foreign agricultural workers in that country. These workers, mainly from Upper Volta, have no security, are completely unorganised and persistently intimidated with threats of deportation and physical brutality. Consequently they are ruthlessly exploited whilst making a minority of Ivorians and foreign landowners rich.

Also underplayed is the great disparity between the north and the south. After nearly 17 years of ruling the country, Houphouet Boigny recently "discovered" that the north was a depressed backwater. Thus whilst we are asked to believe that the "agricultural miracle" was due to the capitalist system as implemented by Ivorians, we are then told: "A huge drive is being made in the north where large scale French, Belgian and other international investments are to go into the enclosure of pastures . . . ." This is not a recipe for development but for the further bartering of the country to the imperialists and monopolists.

The survey gives the impression that the high rate of industrial production – an annual rate of 22.8% for the years 1970-74 – is "the result of superb planning and French technical assistance at every level". Once more some salient features are either ignored or downgraded. For example, 52% of the industrial capital is in French hands. If we add to this the other foreign investments and the fact that foreign indebtedness is now well over £500 million, it is clear that the Ivory Coast governmnent is in no position to decide its own future. Those who pay the piper call the tune.

Much ado is made about the rapid growth of the textile industry. But a close examination reveals the fact that almost the entire industry is in the hands of foreign monopolists and capitalists. The article then approvingly says: "Another advantage is a plentiful supply of labour. The Ivorian textile worker is prepared to put in over 8,000 hours of work a year compared with 5,000 in Europe."[2] It is precisely because of the super-exploitation of labour power due to the low wages, sub-standard working conditions, pliant trade unions and no job security, that we find a rush by foreign exploiters to invest in the Ivory Coast. Nor are the readers of *African Development* told that in the urban areas the migrant labour force have no trade union organisation or rights.

The Ivorian bureaucratic bourgeoisie who have been feeding off the crumbs given to them by the real owners of the country are now seeking a more direct share in the ill-gotten profits. Thus a policy has been initiated to transfer to a select number of Ivorians ownership of state shareholdings in some sectors of the economy. Furthermore a stock market (the barometer of capitalism) has been created with the proviso of giving Ivorians preferences in buying shares. However, since there is very little indigenous capital accumulation, the stock market will be dominated by foreigners. Morover, as even Alan Rake is forced to admit, ". . . it will be a very long time indeed before any substantial Ivorian shareholdings can be established and even then it is more likely that they will be held by wealthy civil servants and politicians . . ."

It is clear that this "Ivorian miracle" is going to benefit only a section of the Ivorians who aspire to become either a part of the bourgeoisie or bigger landowners. The vast majority of workers in the urban and rural areas and the poor peasants are doomed to live at subsistence level and deprived of any real participation in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. This "economic miracle" will suffer the same fate as the much lauded "Brazilian miracle" which has now ground to a halt.

Capitalism is unable to solve the fundamental problems facing Africa today. It has long exhausted the possibilities of playing a progressive and dynamic role. Only consistent anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-monopoly policies, with ever growing ties with the socialist world, especially the Soviet Union, can ensure genuine independence and the possibilities of satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people.

Notes

1. Samin Amin in *L'Afrique de l'Ouest Bloquee* les Edition de Minuit, 1971, clearly shows that there is deep social differentiation with a minority of plantation owners exploiting 1/4 of the arable land and 2/3 of the agricultural work force.
2. Ibid., Samir Amin points out that in 1965 more than 60% of workers and employees in the urban areas (except administration which is completely staffed by Ivorians) were foreign migrant workers.

SENEGAL – A BOGUS "PARTY"

In *The African Communist*, Third Quarter 1976, we reported on the latest developments in Senegal and the unyielding struggle of the African Independence Party (AIP) against Senghor's limited form of 3-party democracy and for complete legalisation.

Recently it has been reported in some journals that Majhmout Diop has now reconstituted the AIP as a legal communist party. This is blatantly false. Diop is the former Secretary-General of the AIP but left the Party in 1969 and since then has severed all his links with the AIP and other progressive and democratic forces in Senegal.

Diop's bogus party which he still calls the AIP – though he has stated that he may change the name in the future – was in fact set up by Senghor himself. It was officially reported that Diop was given 600,000 French francs for his party and for personal use. Clearly Senghor does not mind spending a lot of money in the hope of reaping some future dividends.

It is a manoeuvre by Senghor using the services of a renegade to perpetuate the ban on the only genuine Marxist-Leninist party, the still illegal AIP. The AIP has denounced this manoeuvre and will, as we pointed out last time, "continue to fight relentlessly for the best interests of the working people of Senegal, for genuine national independence, anti-imperialist policies and for the creation of a socialist society."

NIGERIA – A WELCOME VENTURE

For the first time, *World Marxist Review,* the theoretical and information journal of the World Communist Movement, is being published in black Africa. In July 1976 *New Horizon,* Nigeria's socialist monthly, began joint publication of their journal with *World Marxist Review. New Horizon* will henceforth contain 60% of articles written by Nigerians and 40% of articles from *World Marxist Review.* This is undoubtedly a great initiative and will help to spread the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, not only in Nigeria but also in other parts of Africa. As *The African Communist* said in its inaugural issue "Africa needs Communist thought as dry and thirsty soil needs rain."

In hailing this move, we express our hope that in future other African countries will also agree to publishing *World Marxist Review.*

PHILOSOPHY AND CLASS STRUGGLE: 2

WHAT IS DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM?

by DIALEGO

(This is the second of a series of four articles intended as an introduction to the theory of dialectical and historical materialism.)

In a previous article on "Philosophy and Class Struggle" it was argued that dialectical materialism is the only logical and consistent philosophy for a revolutionary today to hold. Understood concretely and applied creatively, dialectical materialism has a crucial role to play in helping revolutionaries formulate their strategy and tactics in such a way that they reflect the needs of the situation and take all the relevant factors into account.

Those who stress materialism *at the expense of* dialectics in their political practice will ignore the pressures for change steadily building up (witness the dramatic street battles in the South African cities and townships since June this year), while those who see *only* dialectics and neglect materialism, inevitably overlook the concrete realities of the situation and the particular stage of the struggle.

This is why a proper understanding of dialectical materialism is a necessary part of our correct political practice; it furnishes the Communist Party and the liberation movement with an essential weapon in the on-going struggle and is a vital ingredient for success.

My basic objective in this article is to show that dialectics and materialism – the two aspects of Marxist philosophy which give it its name – form the two halves of a single whole. Just as a chemist mixes hydrogen and oxygen to form water, so Marx and Engels reworked the theories of dialectics and materialism which previous thinkers had developed, in order to create a revolutionary philosophy of a new type. For the first time in history a materialist theory of the universe was worked out which was thoroughly *dialectical* in character, and a conception of dialectics developed that was squarely based on *materialism*.

The result is a highly explosive revolutionary mix!

To explain how this took place and why it was necessary, we must first of all get to grips with

(i) Materialism Vs. Idealism: the Basic Question of Philosophy

It is sometimes thought that a "materialist" is a person who simply looks after his own selfish interests whereas an "idealist" is one who is prepared to sacrifice for a worthwhile cause. Yet, if this were so, it would be the conservatives of this world who are the "materialists" and the revolutionaries who are moved by "idealism"!

In fact, of course, "materialism" and "idealism" do not refer to vague moral attitudes of this kind. They are terms used in philosophy to describe the only two basic interpretations of the world which can be consistently held.

Everyone who studies the world around him has to find the *origin* of things. What causes things to move, or to act or to behave in the way they do? Are the forces spiritual in origin or are they produced by the material world?

Some years ago a Calvinist minister ascribed earth tremors in the western Cape to the growing disquiet of the Almighty towards modern forms of music and dress! Whereas a *materialist* seeks to explain the world of society and nature according to the material conditions and processes at work, the *idealist* believes that events take place because of the existence of spiritual forces or "ideas".

An idealist might argue that apartheid in South Africa has been brought about by the "ill-will" or "evil intentions" of white people who don't wish to face up to reality. For a materialist, on the other hand, this "ill-will" or "evil intention" still needs to be explained, and the real reason for apartheid is not to be found in people's heads but in their pockets, in that *material* system of capitalist exploitation which makes apartheid highly profitable for financial investors, factory owners and the giant farms. It is here that the roots of the system lie.

We often talk about the way in which for example "anti-communist ideas" weaken our movement by creating divisions in its ranks and this of course is true. But we must never forget that these anti-communist "ideas" don't simply fall from the skies: they reflect and arise out of the material interests of monopoly capitalism and unless they are firmly rebuffed, they are likely to make an impact on those whose stake in society, however small, makes them vulnerable to anti-communist scare-mongering.

Thus we can say that **whereas idealism looks for an explanation of the world in terms of the "ideas", "intentions" or "will" of people, materialism considers that the source of all events and actions is to be found in material causes or, as they are sometimes called, "the laws of nature".**

It is true that cruder forms of idealism ascribe things in the world to the "will of God" whereas more subtle forms of idealism put the cause down to the ideas which exist in the heads of individuals on earth, but in neither case do idealists seek an explanation in material reality.

Whereas idealism believes that the ideas in people's heads exist outside of and independently of the world of matter, materialism contends that people's ideas, like all other aspects of their behaviour, are the product of material causes and can only be properly understood when these causes are discovered.

Materialists in fact argue that man was neither created by God nor is his origin a sheer mystery. He developed out of the world of nature through a long process of evolution and his ideas are the product of the mental activity of his brain, itself a highly developed and complex form of matter.

This does not mean that materialists are not concerned about people's ideas. On the contrary, materialists are the only people in the world who are able to *explain* them properly. What materialism rejects are not ideas, or their immense importance in influencing the course of events. Rather it is the *idealist* theory of ideas which materialists challenge, because this treats ideas as mystical forces that somehow exist independently of material reality.

It is true that many people generally look for the causes of events in material rather than spiritual forces while retaining beliefs about the world of the supernatural or some other "autonomous" realm of ideas. But this merely means that they are not being philosophically consistent. The fact still remains that it is impossible to hold that matter is the product of mind (the idealist position) while at one and the same time contending that mind is the product of matter!

Materialism and idealism offer interpretations of the world which are irreconcilable. Which of the "two great camps", as Engels called them,[1] we choose still consitutes today, as in the past, the basic question of philosophy.

But why should it matter? What political consequences are likely to follow if we opt for one camp rather than the other?

To answer this question, we must turn to consider the question of

(ii) Materialism as a Rational and Democratic Outlook

If we ascribe, as the idealists do, events and actions to the will of God or to the ideas which people carry around in their heads, everything which happens is either a mystery or some kind of accidental "change of heart". To argue that events do not ultimately have *material* causes means of course, that they cannot be scientifically examined or rationally understood.

This is why idealism is not only mystical but generally conservative and elitist in character. To look for the source of movement in the world solely to people's "ideas" or the power of their "will" is to ignore the practical experience of the mass of ordinary people as they go about their daily lives – the real force which moulds our thought. Differences in outlook appear for the idealist, not as particular reflections of a given set of material circumstances, but as the product of mystical forces which nothing can change. Plato, the ancient Greek idealist, believed that men viewed the world differently because they had been "made" differently – he likened them to different metals like brass, iron and gold – and these were "differences" which nothing could change. The men of "gold" – a philosophical elite – were naturally intended to rule over the cruder multitudes of brass and iron – the unfortunate many! Is it surprising that Plato's idealism has often found a sympathetic hearing among apartheid's supporters? Racist nonsense about the "genetic" differences which are supposed to make some "races" more intelligent than others is simply the logical product of the idealist's search for "causes" which lie beyond our control, and cannot be rationally understood.

For materialists, people are the product of their material circumstances and their "human nature", their outlook on life and their general psychology reflect the conditions under which they live and work. To change people you must change their circumstances. If, as the materialist argues, we draw our knowledge and character from our practical experience of the material world, then not only is everyone able to learn from life and play their part in running society (a democratic view which rejects the need for mystical "fuehrers" to govern the "dumb" masses), but changing our material conditions of life can rid society of poverty, crime, exploitation, war and all the other evils which conservatives blame on "human nature". Marx and Engels comment that **if man is shaped by environment, his environment must be made human**[2], and proceed to add that "the teaching of materialism" is "the teaching of real humanism and the *logical* basis of *communism*".[3]

For materialism is the only philosophy today which can rationally explain the world of nature and society and thus enable people to control their own lives and rid mankind of the injustices, inequalities and exploitation of capitalism.

But how is such a philosophy of materialism to be developed? Before materialism can serve as "the logical basis of communism", it must solve the problem which I now wish to consider, the problem of

(iii) Metaphysics and Mechanics in Earlier Materialism

In primitive communist or tribal societies, people generally explain movements in nature and relationships in society according to "spiritual" forces at work in the universe, but it is worth noting that the old legends and customary practices contain many germs of materialism in the way that they carefully mirror the features of objective reality.

It is however only when trade and advancing technology open up the world, as it were, that science develops, demonstrating that what people had thought of as "spirits" is simply the movement of matter in the universe which can be studied and understood. This discovery led early philosophers in many parts of the world to assert that the universe was solely composed of hard, material particles, out of which all forms of life, including human consciousness, were constructed.

Although theories like this were a great advance, the materialist outlook which they expressed was incomplete and inconsistent. Early Greek philosophers, for example, saw changes in the world as the result of shifting combinations of "atoms", but these "bricks of the universe" were themselves immutable. This static feature of their theory Marxists call "metaphysical" because these basic material elements in the universe were thought of as something "above" change and hence to all intents and purposes, "divine".

This problem was also evident in the materialist outlook of the great 17th and 18th century thinkers in Western Europe. Although they were able to deal many crippling blows to the mystical and hierarchical concepts held under feudalism (the "divine right" of kings, for example), the leading science of their time was *mechanics* and we call them *mechanical* materialists because they treated nature and society as if it were some giant machine. This helped them to understand how things "worked" but was unable to explain their origins and how they had *developed.* It was simply assumed that some god-like force had set the world in motion, and it had never basically changed since!

Yet change was precisely that feature of the universe which it was more and more difficult to ignore. The rise of capitalism graphically demonstrated this. As Marx and Engels wrote,

> constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones[4]

and this made a great impact on the natural sciences. As Engels has noted, the discovery of the cell, the transformation of energy and the theory of evolution named after Darwin[5] showed that movement in the material world was not merely machine-like, but embraced many *different* forms of matter-in-motion, encompassing heat and light, electric and magnetic tension, chemical combination, life and finally human consciousness. All the new sciences pointed to the importance of development and change. It was no longer necessary to bring in some metaphysical force from outside to explain why new elements were continually arising and old ones passing away.

The time had come to bring materialist philosophy into contact with

(iv) The Theory of Dialectics.

It is one thing for natural scientists to increasingly use concepts of change and development in their scientific work, quite another for these ideas to be worked out systematically as a *general* world-outlook so that they can be consciously used to help us understand all areas of reality, including of course developments in society. This is why Marx and Engels turned to the work of a great idealist philosopher, Hegel, who had developed the theory of dialectics as an overall philosophy.

This theory of dialectics can best be understood in opposition to what we have called "metaphysics" and the main features of the theory can be formulated as follows:

whereas metaphysics sees the world as a complex of things, dialectics examines these elements as part of an interconnected whole in which everything is related to and determined by everything else.

Thus for example: a dialectical approach does not simply observe that Africans in South Africa are oppressed by the pass laws, work for starvation wages, farm the worst land, live in terrible housing conditions etc. Each of these elements is *related* to the other and can only be properly understood as part and parcel of the *whole system* of apartheid which links them together.

Whereas metaphysics sees the world statically, looking simply at things as they are, dialectics is concerned with things in motion, as a process, ceaselessly coming into being and passing away.

Thus for example: it is not enough just to see how apartheid "works" today. We must understand how it *developed,* how the people lived before apartheid, the great struggles they fought against those who came to steal their land and destroy their institutions, how apartheid was developed as a response to an awakening African national consciousness, etc. Understanding how apartheid arose is essential to an understanding of how we can get rid of it, for the world is continually changing, and a dialectical approach highlights the *fluidity* of every situation.

Whereas metaphysics regards change as an accidental occurrence, brought on by some chance event from outside, dialectics sees change as a natural and necessary force which comes from within.

Thus for example: the mounting tide of anger and protest against oppression in South Africa which has so dramatically hit the headlines over recent months is not, as the Justice Minister seems to think, stirred up by *outside* agitators who have managed to *accidentally* escape the security police and their numerous spies. It is an inevitable development that springs from *within,* as a necessary part of that struggle which has taken many different forms and reached many different peaks, ever since the racist oppression began. Like all change, it can only be properly understood as the necessary outcome of a developing situation: it is not merely some dramatic explosion which accidentally "happened". It is true that outside conditions may "spark" off events so that they take place at one particular time rather than another: but these *external* circumstances "condition" the event, whereas the real cause of its development comes from within.

These features of the theory of dialectics form the basis for a number of general laws of dialectical development which Hegel was able to work out. Marxists consider these general laws to be of great importance for they elaborate upon and help to clarify the features of dialectical theory as noted above.

We turn therefore to briefly examine

(v) The Laws of Dialectical Development

Engels considered that these laws can be reduced in the main to three:[6]

(a) The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa

This law expresses the fact that change in nature and society does not simply involve a slow and continuous increase or decrease in the growth of things. At a certain point, new *qualities* emerge as a sharp "break" with the past or "leap" into the future occurs. Bourgeois thinkers often say that "there is nothing new under the sun" as though all we can do is to arrange different hands from the same old pack of cards! Marxists disagree. Just as in nature gradually decreasing or increasing the temperature of water (a change in *quantity*) causes it to turn into something quite different, ice or steam (a change which is *qualitative*), so in life generally, gradual changes of degree which do not affect the essence of a thing reach a point when the *thing itself* changes its character and a new entity emerges.

Thus in South Africa for example, for a long period of time the old tribal systems slowly disintegrated as the people were forced to leave their homes and work down the mines, on the farms and in the factories, until a "leap" occurred and a new identity was born. People now saw themselves not merely as Tswanas, Zulus, Xhosas, etc. but as Africans, a *qualitative* change in the people's outlook. This made it possible on the one hand to form the ANC as a *national* political organisation and for the ANC, once formed, to fight for the development of a national consciousness among wider and wider sections of the people. This qualitative change in the people's outlook giving them a new sense of identity did not simply take place "overnight": it had been building up gradually, bit by bit, for many years before. But changes in degree do not take place for ever: a point is reached when they become changes in kind and something *new* is created.

But what causes this change to build up in this way? This aspect is focussed upon in

(b) The law of the unity and struggle of opposites.

We have already noted that change arises from *within* things as a necessary part of their development. The elements which make up an object in nature or in society are at once connected with one another and at the same time, in a state of constant struggle or, as we often say, "contradiction". Everything therefore constitutes a "unity of opposites". Capitalists for example, cannot exist without exploiting wage workers, while these workers cannot survive without selling their labour power to a capitalist. They are at once "united" – for each depends upon the other – but as the class struggle shows, they are also "opposites", for this unity is manifest through an ongoing struggle.

This is an important law of dialectics because it helps to identify the reason why everything in the world must continue to develop. Of course, not all "struggling opposites" or contradictions should be looked at in the same way and Marxists generally distinguish between *antagonistic* contradictions, when a struggle cannot be resolved without victory for one side and defeat for the other, and *non-antagonistic* contradictions, when differences are resolved in a way which leaves all the constituent elements intact. Thus, whereas under capitalism, the contradiction between worker and capitalist is an antagonistic one, under socialism, contradictions remain but with the gradual disappearance of classes, antagonism dies out.

At all times, in other words, the unity and struggle of opposites continues, for without the operation of this law in nature and society, no real change could take place at all.

But what is the relationship between the old and the new as change occurs? This is demonstrated by

(c) The law of the negation of the negation.

Negation in dialectics, as Engels has pointed out,

> does not mean simply saying no, or declaring that something does not exist, or destroying it in any way one likes[7]:

"Negation" involves the movement of something from an old stage to a new *and higher* stage, so that the elements of the old are carried forward *and reworked* into the new. Just as capitalism "negated" feudalism by using the former serfs and craftsmen in its new labour force, so socialism "negates" capitalism by building upon its social production and advanced technology. When we speak therefore of the "negation of the negation" we do not merely mean that something has changed twice over. We mean that there has been a *spiral* development upwards, carrying the past into the future, remaking it in the process.

Negation therefore has a *negative* side which conservatives ignore when they think that there is no real "break" in development, so that, for example, they forget that the African worker who has spent years of his life living and working in the cities, struggling with his comrades for more money, better conditions and the right to belong to a trade union, is a very different sort of person from his grandfather or grandmother who lived in a tribal community farming the land in the period before colonialism. Ironically white supremacists are often acutely conscious of the force of this "negation" when they argue that Africans are supposedly too "primitive" to understand the complexities of trade unionism and would therefore use their trade unions as political weapons in the struggle against apartheid! But if negation has a negative side, it also has a *positive* side, which anarchists and ultra-leftists ignore when they fail to see that revolutionaries must build upon the traditions of the past, carrying over what is healthy and democratic and discarding what is backward and reactionary. This is clearly a crucial task for African revolutionaries to undertake.

Hence the law of the negation of the negation helps us to understand change *both* as a break with the past and yet at the same time, a development from it. Having looked briefly at the three general laws of dialectical development, we are now in a position to consider my final point relating to

(vi) Dialectics and Materialism: the Marxist Synthesis

Just as earlier materialism was weakened, as we have seen, by metaphysical and mechanical ideas, so the theory of dialectics and its laws of development as conceived by Hegel suffered from one insoluble problem. Hegel was an idealist and hence treats dialectics as movement in the realm of ideas or as Hegel conceived it, the development of a "World Spirit". Contrary to his theory of dialectics which looks at the world as a process of *infinite* development, the Hegelian "World Spirit" was assumed to have a "beginning" (the reason for which no one could explain) and "an end" (which quite arbitrarily had come to rest with the creation of the capitalist system!). It is not too difficult for Marxists to see that the earlier materialists were not *completely* materialist and the earlier dialectical thinkers were not *consistently* dialectical, because in both cases, the uncritical acceptance of a system of exploitation and the division of society into classes made these philosophers unable and unwilling to see everything, including "human nature" and private property, class privilege and social inequality, subject to the necessary forces of *change.*

Marx and Engels were able to bring dialectics and materialism into a fruitful synthesis because they were the first thinkers in history to base their philosophy on the revolutionary needs and aspirations of the working class, the only class in history which has absolutely nothing to lose from change. This is why other sections of society, the peasants, shop-keepers, intelligentsia, small traders and housewives, who will also benefit from revolution need to ally themselves with the working class and its Communist Party and follow the philosophy of the working class, dialectical materialism.

As early as 1845, Marx and Engels commented that

> the standpoint of the old materialism is "civil" (or bourgeois)

> society; the standpoint of the new is *human* (or communist) society . . .[8]

for the "new" materialism is dialectical materialism and dialectical materialism is the only philosophy which, in guiding us in the long and difficult struggle to win a national democracy, build socialism and enter into the epoch of communism, will always welcome change.

Notes

1 "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", Marx, Engels, *Selected Works*, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1968), p. 604. This is an invaluable piece to read for anyone seeking to learn more about the development of Marxist philosophical thought.

2. "The Holy Family", in *Collected Works* 4, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1975), p. 131.

3. Ibid.

4. "Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Selected Works*, op. cit., p. 38. In Africa the effect of these expanding waves of capitalist production was traumatic. As one writer recalls, "the 15th century hurled at us the economic and adventurous restlessness of Europe, and subsequently the mania called the 'Scramble for Africa' shuddered the sub-continent. The sheer physical impact of the assault was enough to stagger the edifice of tribalism. I can almost see my infinitely great-grandfather, leaping to his feet on a rock and gaping at a sailing ship seeking harbour – all his patriarchal dignity forgotten, as he exclaims, 'Hau!' " – Can Temba, "The Bottom of the Bottle," *Africa South in Exile* 1961, p. 53.

5. Engels expands upon these points in his introduction to the *Dialectics of Nature* and in his chapters on philosophy in *Anti-Duhring*.

6. *Dialectics of Nature*, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1964), p. 63.

7. Cited in *The Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy*, (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974), p. 153.

8. "Theses on Feuerbach", reprinted as an appendix to *The German Ideology*, (Lawrence and Wishart, 1965), p. 653.

ALL WILL BE OURS AGAIN

by Scarlet Whitman

To us the progeny
to those that toil
to those with raging hearts
to us the looted heirs united in yearning
it will come
it will come back
all will be ours again

The ancestral fields
the massing hills
the mountains in their majesty
it will come back
all will be ours again

The scented earth
the blazing grass
the forests in their frequency
it will come back
all will be ours again

The restless rivers
the rooted lakes
the oceans in their urgency
it will come back
all will be ours again

To those the patient
to those that endure
to those pitted with scars
who prise clenched nights for crimson stars
it will come
it will come back
all will be ours again

A SOVIET VIEW OF S.A. HISTORY

SOUTH AFRICA: THE BIRTH OF PROTEST (1870-1924) by A.B. Davidson, published by the Nauka Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

This book, written by a Soviet Africanist who has done an immense amount of research into the history of the South African Communist Party, was first published in 1972, in Russian. We had hoped that in due course an English translation would have become available, but in its absence the editorial board of *The African Communist* feels that a summary of the contents of the book would be of interest to our readers, since Professor Davidson has made an invaluable contribution to the knowledge and evaluation of the history of our movement.

Professor Davidson dedicates his book "To my South African friends – black and white". In his foreword he points out that all over the world people are trying to find ways to combine the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social liberation. The accumulated experience of the South African movements in this field is vast and socially important but too little about it is known. Everyone, he says, knows about racialism in South Africa. But how many know that more whites have taken part in the struggle against racism than in any other African country?

Professor Davidson devotes some 50 pages to an account of the difficulties encountered by a Soviet scholar in writing a history of South Africa, and to listing and describing the material available to him in the USSR in the possession of various libraries and museums and also in the archives of various political organisations. Soviet scholars do not have access to South Africa or its archives and cannot do field work there. Nevertheless, it may surprise readers to learn that the quantity and range of the material used by Professor Davidson is not significantly less than that accessible to historians of other countries.

Professor Davidson devotes some 9 pages to setting out the aims of his book, and they are worth quoting at some length: He writes:

"There are two South Africas, the one, official, known to all the world as the symbol of racism, and the other setting itself against that regime. The future of 22 million inhabitants of South Africa depends on that 'other South Africa' and, in fact, so does the fate of millions of the inhabitants of neighbouring countries.

"The obstacles confronting this 'Other South Africa' are greater than those confronting the other countries of Africa and Asia trying to get rid of colonial-racist regimes. This is not only because imperialism has such enormous resources of natural wealth there. Nor is it only because the regime has a significant social base and has at its disposal a strong military-police apparatus. Hindering the consolidation of the 'Other South Africa' is that phenomenon which Lenin called 'the tremendous extent of the estrangement of the working classes of different nationalities', which he emphasised was a gigantic evil, an enormous hindrance in the struggle.

"The whole course of the modern and recent history of South Africa and especially the racist policies of its rulers have erected walls of non-understanding, distrust and even enmity not only between workers of different racial groups but even within one and the same group (between Afrikaans and English-speaking whites, between different African tribes).

"For the revolutionary forces, the breaking of these barriers, this estrangement, cannot but be the supreme task.

"In South Africa with its well-developed socio-economic structure one can find the answer to the problem, which concerns the whole world, of ways to combine the national liberation struggle with the struggle for social freedom. To understand the interconnection between these struggles, to understand the resistance to the despotism inevitable in every racist and chauvinist regime (which affects even some of the privileged people or races) and to understand also the methods used by the rulers to break up or isolate the forces of protest by means of racial conflict kindled by those very rulers, one needs only to study the state of affairs existing in the South Africa of today.

Process of Change

"Knowledge of the experience of the resistance in South Africa might help one towards an understanding of the historical development of other African countries. First of all this concerns the problem of change in the forms and methods of anti-colonial struggle.

"It is common knowledge that the history of the freedom movements of the peoples of Africa has not been very deeply studied, and even in those inadequate studies there are pages which are not at all clear. Existing literature frequently deals either with the revolt of tribes or with political parties of the modern type. But between the period of the rebellions of the tribes and that period characterised by political parties there lies a whole historical epoch. Those two forms of struggle frame, as it were, from both sides, the period of colonial rule.

"What forms did protest take during that period? To reply to that natural inquiry is not easy. It was precisely when colonial rule had reached its peak that a solid curtain descended on news from that country. Furthermore these forms of protest do not respond to study easily because in most cases they are transitional, not well marked or with clear outlines. They corresponded with the gradual establishment of new social relations and the course of the evolution of social relations developed in a very complex way. With the advent of colonialism and the penetration of money-commodity relations everything traditional and customary disintegrated. The rigidly regulated tribal system of society, in which every person was assigned a clearly defined place, collapsed. This is reflected in the appearance of new forms of protest, previously unknown to the Africans, in numerous new rudimentary organisational forms, at first amorphous, ill-defined. They were the first not confined within the frame of tribal society. And it was with them that Africa embarked on the long road which led from the revolts of the tribes to the political bodies which arose during the course of the last few decades. This is the path followed in the main by most of the countries and peoples south of the Sahara.

"South Africa, beginning with the Cape Colony, entered first on that path because colonialism began there earlier than in the rest of Africa. And many things which the rest of Africa encountered only in the 20th

Century or even after the first world war had been experienced by Southern Africa already in the last century.

"The period 1870-1924 was chosen for the following reasons. The 1870s and the first half of the 1880s constituted an important landmark in the history of South Africa and in the history of her forces of protest. In those years, when the imperialist division of Africa had begun, the whole appearance of the continent was changed, but in the south this process became apparent much more sharply because with the discovery of gold and diamonds capitalism rapidly developed and the prerequisites of an industrial revolution came into existence.

"It was also on the borders of the 70's and the 80's that the last reverberations of those revolts which had been waged in conditions of tribal society were heard, the epoch of colonial wars was consigned to the past, and the period of new forms of protest inherent in the more developed society was ushered in.

"I chose the beginning of the 20's of this century as my final frame of reference because then there existed already those very important political organisations which today stand at the head of the revolutionary forces – the CP, the ANC, the SAIC. Those years were marked by the entry of the African proletariat into the arena of struggle, by its first massive strikes. Thus towards the middle of the 20's those forces which in many respects make up the 'other South Africa' of our day took shape.

"The aims of this book are

(1) to follow the 'other South Africa' from its birth and first steps to that time when her recent history began.

(2) to try to comprehend her ideas and her deeds, her strength and her weakness, the difficulties confronting her and her quest for ways to overcome those difficulties.

(3) To consider the influences of those internal and external forces which she experienced, and those influences which she herself had upon the anti-colonial resistance in other African countries. Special attention is paid to the years 1910-1924, the years which saw the beginning and the growth of the Union of South Africa, which absorbed the former Boer republics and British colonies, and the beginning also of the coming together of the forces of protest now covering the whole of the Union. The development of these forces took place under the influence of the world-wide revolutionary upsurge reflected in the course of the bitter class struggles which convulsed South Africa between 1918-1922. Of all the books written by marxist historians only one devoted itself to these problems – the very interesting work by H.J. and R.E. Simons. But the Simons dealt with the whole period of the century from 1850

to 1950 and dwelt mainly on the events of the last 25 or 30 years of that period. Naturally they could not touch upon the problems of the formation of the African intelligentsia, on the political role of the Afro-Christian churches, on the African Press and African Literature as a part of (or an aspect or form of) the formation of national and political consciousness, and on a number of other important questions.

Study of Real People

"I tried not only to understand the ideas and events of those times but also tried to see and to show people as they were, because facelessness has unfortunately characterised historical literature on Africa. To this day the history of Africa (except in the case of certain Arab countries) is associated usually with the names of 'Europeans' particularly of those who carried out colonial policy. To collect information about Africans of the past is unusually difficult. But unless this lack is overcome it is unlikely that one will be able to get close to an understanding of real history. Marx and Engels emphasised the need to study real people and not only historical phenomena, ideas, and history in general, abstractly, without attempting to imagine what the people were like who created all that."

The book is arranged in three parts

1) The development of the struggle for national liberation from 1870 to 1917.

2) The class struggles of the proletariat and the spread of socialist ideas in that period.

3) The first steps – the first in the history of Africa – to merge these two mass movements into one stream 1917-1924.

Part One is divided into three chapters. The first traces the historical developments from the last of the "Kaffir" and Colonial Wars and the rebellion of the tribes, through the "second discovery" of South Africa which followed the opening first of the diamond and then of the gold fields, to the "Union" of the colonies and republics brought about so that there should be a single system of rule to ensure the oppression of the people and the most effective exploitation of the country and its mixed population. The chapter then deals with the process of forcing more and more Africans off the land into the mines, the rapidly developing industries and other branches of the economy, transforming African society, and giving birth to new forces of anticolonial resistance in the place of the old.

Davidson reminds us of the resistance of the Bushmen and Hottentots in the 17th Century and, in the 18th and 19th Centuries, of the much more powerful and desperate struggle of the Xhosas, Zulus, Basotho and other African tribes against the pitiless land and cattle-grabbing Boers and other settlers, and then against the colonising armies from England. African tribal society used every means of resistance available to them including negotiations to make use of contradictions between their opponents and efforts to overcome tribal differences in attempts to unite against the common enemy. He makes use of the writings of Russian travellers like Goncharov and Visheslavtsov to give us portraits of and anecdotes about outstanding leaders like Sandile and Makana. From other sources he tells us of the skilful military and diplomatic manoeuvres of Moshesh to protect, defend and preserve the Basotho and their lands and herds, and, further north, of the efforts of Lobengula to negotiate with foreign would-be concessionaires competing with Rhodes, and his despatch of emissaries to Queen Victoria in an attempt to divert the threat to his people and his country.

Whether Davidson writes of an African leader or an African writer, he always tries, quoting from contemporary sources, to depict him as a living, struggling human being. And he remarks that, although Kimberley and the Rand did not have a Jack London or a Bret Harte who had made the "Klondike" and the "Yukon" famous or infamous throughout the world, yet there were weriters like Mayne Reid, Louis Bussenaar, Jules Verne, Rider Haggard, Conan Doyle and Rudyard Kipling, who penned their romances around the adventures of their heroes in the South Africa of those days.

The role of the missionaries and the mission schools and the impetus they gave to the rise of an African intellegentsia were important at this stage. Trading and industrial capital were largely in the hands of the British, who demanded some education of African workers in the face of fervent opposition from the local whites who required only obedient and ignorant labourers.

Davidson ends this chapter with a a section, under the heading of "The birth of political consciousness", in which he delves in some detail into the origins of newspapers and journals in African languages, the appearance of the first African journalists, the part played by men like Jabavu who was the first editor of the first non-missionary, partly political African paper *'Imvo Zabantsundu'* in 1884, and the development of national and political consciousness which, says Davidson, is determined to a considerable extent by the character of the emerging intelligentsia. He compares the history of that intelligentsia with those of some of the other African countries and points out that the South African intelligentsia arose directly out of the native population and remained close to the people from the moment of its birth, its development free of the imprint of the slave trade and of repatriation.

African Churches

The second chapter of the first part deals with the first anti-colonial organisations, starting with the role of the independent African churches. Davidson puts forward the suggestion that those subjugated Africans who accepted Christianity did so in the main because of the character of their old beliefs and rituals associated with the cults of their forefathers, under the banner of which they fought the colonialists. Christianity, which said that all people were the children of god, gave to the newly converted the opportunity to be part of a much larger community than the tribe.

Many of the missions were Scottish Methodist and their approach encouraged independent self-governing communities. The first breakaway occurred in 1884 by the Tembu Church under Rev. Tile when the African christians had become disillusioned and resentful of the treatment of them by their white christian fellows. Their faith and their church began to serve also as a means of protest against their oppression.

By the 1890s there were a number of independent African churches. In 1896 a large group of Zulu christians called for a union of African churches and issued a manifesto under the slogan "Africa for the Africans", influenced by the religious-national movement in America led by Marcus Garvey. Davidson outlines the history of the Ethiopian Church (Ethiop in the biblical sense of African) which became one of the leading African independent churches with strong links with American negroes in America and Liberia, and also with links in Nyasaland, and the part played by the church in the Natal rebellion of 1906. In the 20th Century, with the development of other African organisations, the role of the independent African churches declined and they became reactionary, but, says Davidson, we must not underestimate their undoubted contribution to the growth of the movement of protest against oppression and racism.

Davidson next considers the early political organisations of the African people, from "Imbumba yama Africa" in 1882 (which Lionel Forman called "the little seed" from which grew the ANC) and the Association of Native Voters of Kingwilliamstown in 1884 under the leadership of J.T. Jabavu, and the African Native Congress in Cape Town in 1902, to the first African conference with delegates from all over South Africa held in Bloemfontein in 1909, under Walter

Rubusana, to protest against the more discriminatory clauses of the Act of Union.

The chapter then deals with the effects of the increasing contacts between South African Africans and the outside world towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries. One is surprised to learn of the number of Africans who studied abroad and then returned; of those who left during periods of turmoil, such as a Zulu named Mgnoka who, with others, fled after the British had taken their revenge for Isandlwana and who travelled all over the world. Some of these wanderers returned whilst others settled abroad. Davidson also touches on the influences of the Pan African Conferences starting with the first in London in 1900. All these influences increased African awareness of the world outside (and that world's knowledge of South Africa) and played a part in their growing concern with and participation in politics – across tribal divisions.

The next part of this chapter discusses the life and struggles of the Indians in Natal, the arrival of Gandhi in 1893 and the formation of a number of Indian organisations including the most influential, the Indian Congress of Natal. In dealing with the influence of Gandhi and Satyagraha on events in Natal and in South Africa Davidson points out that Tolstoy was Gandhi's teacher and inspiration and he devotes several pages to their correspondence on South Africa indicating that Tolstoy's ideas also influenced the methods of struggle of the African political organisations.

The last part of this chapter concentrates on the African Peoples' Organisation (APO) which was founded in 1902 and was the first black organisation to function throughout South Africa, though its main field of operation was in the Western Cape. In 1905 Abdul Abdurahman was elected president. Of him Lionel Forman said: "With all his shortcomings – he was undoubtedly one of the giants in the history of the liberation movement". After the first world war the APO gradually lost its place in the public life of the country but up to then it played a very valuable role not only for the Coloured people in whose life it had filled a vacuum, but also for the Africans on whose behalf it also fought and with whom it sought to close ranks against the common foe.

The whole of the third chapter is devoted to the history of the ANC during the period under review, its birth, its growth, its activities and, in particular, its fight against the Native Land Act.

Part Two is headed "Socialists' Ideas and the Working Class Movement" and it, too, has three chapters. The first deals with the "First socialists and the Workers' Movement", followed by a section headed "The spread of progressive ideas and the birth of the the first socialist organisations". Here, once again, the author reveals the wide and deep cultural and social approach to his history by devoting 9 pages to a discussion of the life and work of Olive Schreiner and a warm tribute to her, to her writings and to her profound influence on progressive ideas.

The first of the socialist organisations were formed, in the main, by immigrants. The Social Democratic Federation was started in Cape Town in 1902 and by 1911 there were similar bodies in Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg. Davidson points out that these organisations were little more than groups or circles and they had almost no contact with workers. The last section deals briefly with the "Class Battles of 1907-1914" and "The rise of the Labour Party" formed by the then mainly white proletariat to fight against capital. The Labour Party of those days was of course very different from that of later years and Davidson quotes Lionel Forman in explanation of this.

The Second Chapter of Part 2 is headed "The First World War and the Split in the Workers' Movement". The outbreak of war brought to the surface the English chauvinism and Boer hatred of England which had been smoothed over to establish the Union, and the white workers' movement and the white socialists had to determine their attitude against a background of threatening civil war. The next section deals with "The socialists in the first world war under the pressure of patriotic war hysteria, the formation of the War on War League in September 1914, its campaigns in and out of the Labour Party, its conflicts with the government, its condemnation of the war in South West Africa and the government's secret plans to annex that territory. All this led to the "Split in the Labour Party" when the revolutionary socialist elements in the Party finally separated from the opportunistic and chauvinistic elements and eventually left the Labour Party.

The third and final chapter of the second part under the heading "Ideas of Internationalism" describes the formation of the International Socialist League and the publication of its journal *The International.* In the course of discussing the composition of the League, its leaders and its numerous public activities, Davidson devotes a few pages to the work of one of South Africa's greatest Marxists, David Ivon Jones, who spent the last few years of his short life in the Soviet Union where he produced some of his most penetrating work.

International Socialists

The Third Part is devoted to "The Principle of Internationalism and of Social Revolution in a multiracial Society" and is divided into 2 chapters. The first – "The Effects of the World Revolutionary Upsurge" – tells us of the post-war world crisis which hit South Africa very hard because of the collapse of the price of gold, and led to the "poor white" problem. Dealing with the Russian Revolution, Davidson describes the dedicated labour of the ISL, through the pages of *The International* and in every other way possible, to keep the people informed of the truth about events in Russia and to explain the ideas of October 1917. A contribution to this enlightenment was made by two Soviet citizens who arrived in Johannesburg and actually managed to address a huge public meeting in the City Hall in 1919, afterwards returning to Moscow with messages from the ISL leaders to their Russian comrades. Davidson points out that the anti-British and anti-imperialist stance adopted by the nationalists of those days helped the socialist organisations in their propaganda about the Russian Revolution. The chapter discusses the "Programme of the Socialist-Internationalists" adopted by the ISL, the rapid growth of that organisation and the increase in its activities especially among trade unionists and Africans, and ends with a section on the "Johannesburg Soviet" of 1919.

The second chapter, the last, is devoted to "The new arrangement of forces" brought about by the profound changes in the composition of the post-war working class where the number of African workers exceeded the number of whites not only in gold mining and in agriculture but in many branches of industry as well. We are told of the miners' strike of February 1920, the formation and phenomenal growth of the ICU, the creation of the CPSA and its links with the Commintern, and finally of the 1922 "Red Revolt".

In his concluding chapter the author says that although circumstances in South Africa have changed often and in many ways over the past 150 years, the rich experience accumulated by the forces of resistance, struggling and growing in terribly difficult and complicated conditions, has been and is of inestimable value in helping not only the people of South Africa but the people of the whole of Africa and of other continents to overcome immense problems in their fight for liberation and socialism. The course taken by Hitler to set up the Germans as an elite, a labour aristocracy, over the peoples of the conquered lands is the same, argues Davidson, as that followed by the racists of South Africa in setting up a white aristocracy of labour, a course, he says, bitterly exposed by Jack London in the *Iron Heel.* He ends by quoting from the foreword to our own *Fifty Fighting Years:* "It is all too easy, standing on the high vantage-point of retrospect, to upbraid the pioneer socialists, saying they 'should have' done this or 'should not have' done that. This unhistorical approach is not only unjust to men who fulfilled a notable task and are not able to reply; it also fails to see that those men were bound by the inevitable limitations of their time, ... it fails to educate because it does not explain in its historical context what those pressures and limitations were, and how, with deeper experience and knowledge, the movement they founded developed to transcend, correct and overcome them." To avoid this "unhistorical approach", says Davidson, is just what he has tried to do throughout his book.

The book so far covers 480 pages. The next 100 pages are occupied by three annexures of documents, one for each part of the book, starting with the programme of the first Natal Indian Congress of 1894 and ending with a tribute to Albert Nzula in the *Negro Worker* of May 1934. Many of these documents have never been published before and are an invaluable addition to our historical treasury.

B.J.

BOOK REVIEWS

CAN ARMED STRUGGLE SUCCEED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

> **"Successful guerilla warfare is always and above all political warfare; and so it was in these wars, abundantly and often brilliantly. The men and women who led these struggles were certainly effective in their military tactics and strategies. But they excelled in their politics.**
>
> **"They gave to their politics of national liberation a dynamism and expanding reality that carried their resistance from its early ripples, which were almost nothing, to a tide that nothing could stop. It is their politics that are really interesting. Their politics explain what must otherwise remain mysterious."**
>
> *Basil Davidson, on the revolutions in Portugal's former African colonies.*

"It is their politics that are really interesting." This is the unifying theme of three essays which together make up the new Penguin African Library volume titled "Southern Africa. The new politics of revolution." The significance of the word 'new' escapes me. It seems to imply that Southern Africa has only recently turned its political attention to revolution. Far from it. Davidson's essay itself, for example, covers the political experience of the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau in armed revolutionary struggle from 1961, concerning itself mainly with the politics of that struggle – which, as the author says, is 'really interesting.' If the revolutionary politics of these countries can be called in any sense 'new', it can only be in the sense that they are not fixed, eternal certainties or faith, but rather a constantly renewing, constantly maturing consciousness of the rapidly changing conditions around them. The political strategies of the liberation movements of the three former Portuguese colonies grew out of struggle for national independence. The nature of the problems before the revolutionary leaders changed constantly, subtly. Starting from the problem of how to begin, strategies have had to deal successively with problems of how to extend the struggle and engage the masses in it, of how to lead liberated areas within an enemy encirclement, and of how to reconstruct the social order within a newly liberated country. The political problems have been thus a constantly changing and shifting series of challenges; and the freedom fighters have had to constantly renew their politics, their strategies and their ideologies to encompass these new challenges. Davidson's essay concentrates on this constantly renewing, constantly deepening ideology, the way it grew, the way events demanded new outlooks, and the way new ideas and politics changed political conditions. This is a fascinating study, parts of which have appeared from time to time elsewhere, but never comprehensively put together in English.

Political theory is, in essence, a distillation of the accumulated experience of revolutions and revolutionaries. Davidson's distillation of these Southern African revolutions and their revolutionary thinking adds a considerable new dimension to the theory of revolution everywhere. But it is especially rich in significance for the revolutionaries in white dominated Southern Africa, whose internal conditions are akin to – though in no way identical with – those of Angola and Mozambique, and whose revolutions approach maturity in the same historic epoch. South Africa and Zimbabwe both stand at the threshold of the violent political confrontations which herald the overthrow of the old order, and the birth-pangs of the new. Their revolutionaries will be enriched in understanding, enlarged by the experience Davidson summarises. This is a live, pertinent addition to the arsenal of theory which Southern African revolutionaries possess.

It is with that theory, at least as far as South Africa is concerned, that Joe Slovo is concerned in the central portion of this book. His essay "South Africa – No Middle Road" is a statement of the theory of the South African revolutionary movement, whose main organised contingents are the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. Slovo does not claim to be a 'discoverer' of a new theory for South Africa, a new prophet. He is at pains to explain that he bases his statement firmly on the foundations of the established politics of those two movements, in which he has been a participant both in South Africa and abroad in conditions of legal and illegal work, often on the very levels of leadership at which policy statements of such bodies are decided.

But 'official statements' of political bodies are concerned, in the first place, with stating their conclusions as unambiguously and as tersely as possible. They do not often concern themselves with argument, with analysis of the pro's and con's that may be adduced, with citing the whole background of reasoning and data on which they are based. They are statements to inform. Not that such statements of policy are reached without deep debate and often fierce argument; or without substantial historical background and detailed reference to current world and local events. But this background usually remains buried within the confines of the organisation itself, and only the conclusions, the decisions are broadcast to the public.

Widening Frontiers

It is the special merit of Slovo's essay that, although firmly based on the central political statements of the African National Congress (Strategy and Tactics, 1969) and the Communist Party (Programme, 1962) he moves beyond these constraints, to examine anew the basis of their reasoning, to argue anew their validity, and – most importantly – to extend them in the light of new analysis to encompass new developments in the conditions of South Africa, and the new, widened frontiers of political understanding which have developed since those documents were framed. Underlying his whole essay is the fundamental thesis, accepted by the South African movement but seldom explained or argued in detail, that for South Africa there is 'no middle road'.

> "The path to which South Africa's national liberation movment is committed is not one which it has selected from a group of viable alternatives. There *is* no other path (than revolutionary force. T) to the winning of majority rule over the whole of South Africa . . ."

What he is dealing with, then, is the theory of a South African revolution which knows that there is no third choice; the choices lie between armed revolution and surrender; and the decision to turn to armed revolution is but a continuation, in the changed circumstances of government by force alone, of former policies of resistance through unarmed political struggle. The turn to armed forms of struggle demands that the whole strategy of the movement be looked at anew, for though "the introduction of force influences every other level of political endeavour," the struggle remains essentially political, and headed by an essentially political organisation, with a political "theory of revolution which is not just an academic exercise in social analysis, but provides correct guidelines for action."

It is not possible here to precis the already well compressed, closely reasoned and searching thesis which Slovo develops. It traverses in main general outline the patterns of some of the documents on which it is based, taking short penetrating looks at the social and political conditions of South Africa's various population groups, the historical development which explains the present course of development, and the general problems of class-to-colour relationships which overlie almost all modern political theory from the country. But in several places it takes off into brilliant extensions of theory, beyond the limits of its background texts, to deal with insistent new problems in the light of new experience.

Thus for example, the Communist Party programme develops the thesis that South Africa is best understood as a country fashioned by 'colonialism of a special type' – or what has come to be called more popularly 'internal colonialism' – that is, a colonialism where both oppressor and oppressed live within the borders of a single state. It is thus a special form of colonial-style exploitation, with colonial style national oppression, but without the 'home-and-abroad' separation of classic colonialism. In a brilliantly illuminating passage, Slovo extends this now well-accepted thesis to explain the present government's Bantustan policy, which would give a form of phoney 'independence' to ethnically based statelets conjured up in the black rural areas. Since oppressor and oppressed occupy a single country, South Africa's 'colonialism of a special type', Slovo reasons, cannot react in the manner of classic colonialism when seriously challenged; it cannot retreat from political control in order to maintain economic control in a new nationally independent state, in the established pattern in Africa which has come to be called 'neo-colonialism.'

> "It cannot 'withdraw' to its real power base in some distant metropolis, after a negotiated handover to a submissive bureaucratic elite. It is unable to hold out anything to the colonial subject except neo-colonial office and a few small-scale business opportunities in the scattered rural backwaters. Hence, its own brand of neo-colonialism

> can operate only on the basis of a *politically* fragmented South Africa."

The Bantustan policy then is neo-colonialism of a special type, "an attempt partially to externalize the colonial relationship in the shape of ethnic states, eventually having all the attributes of *formal* political independence."

Socialist Perspective

There are equally illuminating extensions of theory on several other aspects of the South African problem, in particular the relationship between the national liberation struggle and socialism (or, as the dilemma is often presented, of bourgeois national struggle and working class social struggle.)

> "National liberation, in its true sense," he writes, "must therefore imply the expropriation of the owners of the means of production (monopolized by a bourgeoisie drawn from the white group) . . . there can be no half-way house unless the national struggle is stopped in its tracks and is satisfied with the co-option of a small black elite into . . . areas of economic and political power."

But there are no systematic moves to create such an elite, except in the Bantustans, which come into being not with the buying off of the top echelons of the national liberation movement, but in the teeth of opposition from it and all its worthwhile leaders. In fact, no significant national demands can be won in South Africa without the destruction of the existing (white monopolised) capitalist structure.

The national struggle therefore "has an objective coincidence with the elimination of all forms of exploitation," and thus raises sharply the prospects of proceeding at once to socialist solutions. At its heart, Slovo's thesis is built around the concept of armed struggle as an important element of the revolution now. He is not content merely to cite the decisions of the movement which, in 1961, brought the first organised acts of armed struggle after over forty years of concentration only on unarmed forms of struggle. His essay argues the rights and wrongs of that decision anew, in the light of new experience of armed struggle, both of the South African liberation movement itself and of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and other countries. It is necessary for him first to lay at rest the constantly reiterated argument – heard not in the South African resistance movement itself, but in the ranks of observers and academics abroad – that the decision to take to arms was misconceived, or doomed to failure.

> "The answer . . . cannot be plucked out of a collection of textbook models. A serious movement poses the idea of revolution seriously only when the objective conditions make it possible to prepare for

> it. Until then it can articulate the idea of *a* revolution ad nauseam . . . without advancing *the* revolution one jot.'

Resurveying the changing objective conditions in the country in 1961, Slovo comes again to the conclusion that the movements had no other choice – except surrender. Violence had become a revolutionary imperative.

But to say that is not enough. Can armed struggle in the special conditions of South Africa succeed? What are its perspectives, its chances, what should be its strategies? Again, Slovo provides an illuminating extension of well-trodden paths of argument. Cutting across the often confusing debate on these matters, he distinguishes two separate questions.

> "The first relates to what may broadly be called 'a revolutionary situation', in which revolution involving armed uprising is properly on the agenda. The second relates to the use of organised violence as part of a planned build-up towards a protracted people's war. A confusion of these two concepts has sometimes prevented a revolutionary movement from seeing the revolutionary possibilities of its own situation."

Only when these two aspects are separated can the decision of the South African movement to embark on forms of armed struggle be properly considered as of the second type. None of the formidable difficulties – the lack of suitably concealing guerilla terrain, the lack of friendly frontiers, the disproportion in arms or expertise between white and black – are evaded in his argument; nor the very apparent losses which have already been sustained by the movement since its resort to arms, without apparent immediate political gains. But even now, with hindsight, the decisions of the movement remain right; difficulties can be and are being overcome, errors rectified.

> "No political struggle . . . can be taken up only on condition that its success is guaranteed. In the South African case, some serious mistakes were made . . . But if assessing these mistakes is not just an exercise in criticism, but an aid to future conduct, it should avoid seeing the struggle as a purely subjective process in which all reverses are due to avoidable errors. . . . Events which are now well behind us were at one stage ahead, and those who acted did not have then – as they have now)– the benefit of experience."

Nonetheless, despite the mistakes, and reconsidered now with the benefit of new experience, our own and that of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, the decision remains valid. New understanding facilitates appreciation of strategy and tactics; the sight is set for the final confrontation with white supremacy, in which forms of armed struggle move increasingly into the forefront. In that struggle, this valuable theoretical essay will be a formidable weapon, enabling the freedom fighters of today – be they in guerilla camps or in the streets of Soweto – to correct the errors of yesterday, and to go forward in new strength, with new understanding.

I have not coupled in this the third essay, 'From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe' by Anthony R. Wilkinson. This is not an oversight. Though it is well informed, factual and difficult to fault in its descriptions of the historical process by which Rhodesia came to the present brink of overthrow by Zimbabwean guerillas and politicians, it does not clearly follow the profound formula of Davidson, that so far as national struggles are concerned '. . . it is their politics that are really interesting.' Wilkinson's essay is concerned with the facts of history, not the political springs of it, and with the logistics of guerilla warfare rather than its political strategies. The picture of Zimbabwean politics by comparison with the two other essays, is thus incomplete and unsatisfactory. Triangular arrangements are traditionally the cause of many a wrecked marriage. It is not quite that disastrous here, but unhappy none the less.

But for all that, no revolutionary anywhere in Southern Africa, Zimbabwe included, should be without this book. It is a real contribution to the victory of their cause.

Southern Africa – the new politics of revolution, by B. Davidson, J.Slovo and A.R. Wilkinson. Published by Penguin.

T.

RACE AND CLASS IN AMERICA

Economics of racism USA: roots of black inequality, by Victor Perlo, International Publishers, New York, 1975. $4.25

This book appears at a time when the United States, and indeed capitalism generally, faces ever deepening crises, at a time when there has been a definite fall off in popular movements in the United States, and when solutions to the race/class issues such as black capitalism are in a state of collapse. While there has been a marked deterioration in the economic situation of black people in the United States, official propaganda (put over in a variety of media) has taken advantage of the apathy of many black organizations to ignore the devastating statistics on black unemployment and the increasing inequality of incomes between blacks and whites in the cities, and to create a view of blacks becoming part of the great American middle class.

Victor Perlo's study (largely an updating and rethinking of the substructure of racism using the 1970 census statistics) is a useful antidote to official propaganda. It is also an advance in the study of racism, unfortunately more in themes than theories; a problem faced by all Marxist analysis in the United States where prejudices against Marxist theory even in radical circles are still quite strong. (A positive exception to liberal social science in the United States is Harry Braveman's *Labour and Monopoly Capital* which discusses the subject central to Marx's study of capitalism: the labour process. Perlo might well have made use of the ideas of Chapter 17 (the structure of the working class and its reserve armies) in dealing with black workers in United States capitalism. In this chapter the thesis is put forward that Marx's general law of capital accumulation by which the advance of capitalism is characterized by the amassing of wealth at the centre and deprivation and misery at the periphery, far from being a fallacy which liberal social science has long held it to be, is in fact one of the best founded of all Marx's insights into the capitalist system.)

The *Economics of Racism* carries implicitly Marxist ideas to its intended audience, 'Black readers who, it is hoped, will find material of use in their liberation struggles', by its unrelenting focus on capital as the primary beneficiary of all forms of racism. Chapter 8 which deals with capitalist responsibility for creating racism provides evidence of the methods by which monopoly capital in the United States actively discriminates against blacks to provide high rates of profit, while at the same time engaging in public relations exercises on fair employment practices. This argument is carried further in Chapter 9 where case studies are made of the super-profits gained from the practice of racism and the millions of dollars lost by black workers through discrimination. In the introduction Perlo provides the clearest statement on the nature of racism and the struggle to eliminate this form of oppression:

> Racism is a specific product of capitalism and a universal feature of capitalism. Racist and national oppression and discrimination will be completely eliminated only under socialism. But major gains can be made beginning right now, especially in a world environment in which the forces of socialism and national liberation are gaining the upper hand over those of capitalism and national oppression. What is necessary, however, in the hostile environment of capitalism, is massive, persistent, and organized struggle.' (p9)

This struggle can only be carried forward by a black leadership rooted in the working class which provides the authentic leadership of blacks by avoiding the contradictions of black capitalism, a conclusion which helps to explain the present reactionary policies of some black organizations which were prepared to provide mercenaries to fight against the MPLA in Angola.

Rule of Trade Unions

The relationship between the struggle against racism and working class organization is a persistent theme throughout the work. This discussion obviously has vital implications for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Perlo fights against the notion that white workers are hopelessly prejudiced while the wealthy are prepared to make changes, and argues to the contrary that it is the wealthy who control monopoly capital and who inspire and deliberately perpetuate inequality. At the same time he deals soberly with the role of labour unions in the United States and with the argument that blacks are the economic rivals to whites and that all gains made by black workers must be at the expense of white workers. He answers these views with a clear socialist perspective:

> 'The workers' position, throughout the history of the labour movement, has been that workers' gains are at the expense of capital, and that the total social product can increase and labour's share in it can increase as well'. (p 159)

Economically active blacks in the United States are overwhelmingly working class: analysis shows that of all blacks in employment the black workers constitute 88.8 per cent, intellectuals 8.0, and the petty bourgeoisie only 3.2 per cent. By 1970 about 2.8 million black workers or 40 per cent of all employed blacks were engaged in industrial production: mining, construction, manufacturing, transportation, communication and utilities. Perlo concludes that black workers 'by now comprise a very substantial proportion of the industrial proletariat, the most indispensable workers for the entire economy' who have proved historically to be the political core of the working class. Black workers, he argues, are among the most militant and reliable in the struggle against capital. 'Their role in trade union activity is increasing rapidly, as their consciousness of national, racial and class solidarity increases.' (p 21) In his view the black liberation and labour struggles in the United States are indissolubly linked, the struggle for equal employment waged by blacks benefits the entire working class, and (vice versa) the national minimum wage fought for by unions provides substantial benefits for blacks.

Perlo puts forward the case for solidarity between black movements and trade unions in more detail in the chapter on 'Labour Union Influences'. The unions have a 'moderately egalitarian philosophy' which favours improving conditions of the most exploited workers, and with the increasing membership of blacks in unions (now up to about 2 million in 1970) an alliance is essential. On page 198 he discusses this difficult question and, while not doubting the acceptance of capitalist ideology by many trade unionists and the fact of racism in the craft unions in particular, concludes that without the unions there can be no perspective for victory in the struggle.

> The general program of the trade union movement is in the interests of the Black working people. But in addition the Black people must have their own liberation program, to meet their special needs, to end their special extra exploitation, to achieve equality. What is needed is an alliance of the whole working class with the Black people around the overall program of labour and the special program of the Black people.

He argues (pp 203-209) quite conclusively that unions have made a positive contribution to black advancement. Black union members earn considerably more than non-members, and the wage gap between black and white union members is much less than in the case of the unorganized workers. Looking at the situation, union by union, it is clear that the relative wages of black workers to white workers are considerably better in industries where powerful industrial unions with a militant tradition have succeeded in organizing the majority of workers. This is probably one of the points most relevant to working class struggles in South Africa. In areas such as Detroit where blacks have won an exceptionally strong position in the working class through trade union action pay differentials have been reduced. The worst differentials between black and white workers in Detroit are found in those jobs which were not unionized and totally under the control of managment.

Aid To Legislation

Politically the unions have been more supportive of black initiative, and during the 1950s and 60s gave important support to legislation making equality possible. 'In no other area was the overall differentiation in position of the working class and the capitalist class more clear.' The unions have also provided the main political force behind the enactment of improved and broadened minimum wage legislation which is of particular importance to black workers who are in the worst paid jobs.

> 'Regardless of the racist ideology and racist practices of many union officials in thier own unions, when the class interests of the workers force them into conflict with employers, as in the case of labour legislation, Black workers gain, not only as workers in general, but

> tend to especially gain in the sense of reducing the prevailing economic discrimination against them.' (p 210)

While this is the objective basis for an alliance, it may well be an argument black militants in the United States will find hard to accept.

By concentrating on the major themes and strategies of the book I have had to ignore a wealth of statistics and analysis on the black economic situation in the United States. There are important chapters on worsening income differentials between blacks and whites, super-unemployment of blacks, the failure of black capitalism, and what whites lose through discrimination, especially in the South. All these concerns drive towards the essential conclusion, a call for a 'really large, broad-based political party dedicated to the struggle against racism and for equality'. (p 259) Whether this call is utopian or not depends on the necessary conditions preceding it: widespread union reform and politicization, the development of black working class leadership, and a new dedication to a socialist strategy for the United States. As Perlo rightly concludes, socialism, by eliminating private profit, eliminates the material basis of racism.

D.L.

TRIBUTE TO A GREAT LEADER

Harry Pollitt, A Biography, by John Mahon, published by Lawrence and Wishart, £6.00.

Those who knew Harry Pollitt, and worked closely with him, have been looking forward for several years to this biography. There may be many explanations why it did not appear until 16 years after his untimely death in June 1960, but it's a book which was worth while waiting for. The author worked in harness with him for some years, and knew him intimately.

No book review (nor any one book) can do justice to this outstanding Communist leader. He was a tower of strength in all the struggles of the British working people for over 40 years. And not only in Britain. His deep sense of international solidarity with the struggle for freedom in all parts of the world was not only one of words, but also of organised support.

Born in Lancashire in 1890 he was a half-timer when 12 years old, became an apprentice at 15 years, and as a skilled boilermaker was engaged in his first strike in 1911. He knew the pioneer Tom Mann in his early days, and had close ties with him until his death in 1941.

Pollitt owed a great deal to the political influence of his family, especially his mother and his elder sister Ella. He was an early convert to socialist ideas, and on his 21st birthday his mother presented him with the first volume of Marx's *Capital.* Already active in politics, he joined the British Socialist Party (BSP) in 1912, which joined with other political groups to form the Communist Party in Britain in August 1920.

Transferred from Manchester in 1918 to work in London, he was active with others in getting London port workers to stop the ship "Jolly George" sailing with munitions for use against Soviet Russia. It was part of a great national campaign for "Hands off Russia", and even the Labour Party and TUC were pressed in making the call for Councils of Action in support.

Harry was not only a skilled boilermaker, but always active in his trade union branch. He became a delegate and brilliant spokesman for the union at annual conferences of the Labour Party and TUC from 1921 to 1927. From 1924 onwards right wing Labour leaders succeeded in getting majority decisions to exclude Communists being chosen as delegates.

However, after the difficult period of 1927-32 Communists strengthened their position within the trade unions, at national union conferences, and at the TUC. It was not an easy task to build a Communist Party in Britain, the centre of a vast imperialist system and stronghold of opportunism. Progress was slow during 1920-24, but afterwards the Party's influence began to grow until the government and right wing Labour leaders were scared. Before the 1926 general strike Pollitt was among 12 Communist leaders arrested in October 1925 tried and sentenced to prison.

Sharp Divisions

From then onwards membership of the Communist Party doubled, from 5,000 to 10,000. After the betrayal of the general strike and the defeat of the miners it dropped again to 5,000. This serious setback gave rise to a deep sense of frustration throughout the working class movement, and gave rise to sharp divisions within the Communist Party on its relations with the organised Labour movement.

There was strong pressure also from Comintern circles in this internal policy struggle, the final outcome of which was to put the objective of a "Revolutionary Workers' Government" in Britain in place of the former aim of a progressive Labour government. Looking back on this period there were strong sectarian trends.

It was in this situation that the call came for a change of leadership in the Communist Party. This was brought about at the 11th Congress in November 1929, but preliminary steps were already taken in August. Harry Pollitt gave up his position in the National Minority Movement (of which the author was also in the leadership) to become the General Secretary. Already on the Central Committee, I was transferred from my position as Communist leader in South Wales, and elected to the Political Bureau and Secretariat. Arthur Horner was also brought to London to take the position vacated by Pollitt in the NMM.

Nothing could be more stimulating than to work with Harry Pollitt in the Political Bureau, in the office, and in big political campaigns. He was frequently away on propaganda campaigns and international missions. As the national organiser of the Party during 1930-33 I was often called upon to deputize for him in various spheres of work.

How can one compress in one brief review the stupendous political record of this great leader? In the mid-1930s he gave the lead in turning the Communist Party along the path of real mass work, and translating Dimitrov's words and actions into real practice in Britain. He inspired the volunteers for the struggle against fascism in Spain, and went five times during 1937-38 to meet them at the front.

In December 1932 appeared from him an article in the *Communist Review* on "The work of Communists of South Africa in the trade unions". He was refused a visa in 1936 to visit South Africa, as were many other Communists, then and afterwards. He and Bill Andrews were close friends, and I well remember Harry's distress after a letter from Bill on the dissolution of the Party in 1950.

During 1942-43 he spoke to scores of thousands many times in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square on the need for a second front in Europe, at factory gates and pit-heads, and mass conferences. In 1945 he was the Communist candidate in Rhondda East, polling 15,761 votes against 16,733 for Labour. It was the biggest-ever Communist vote.

International Links

Pollitt was not only a national leader, but one of international standing. In 1953 he was in India for two months, and a year later in Cyprus. At the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 he was deeply shocked by the revelations about Stalin, and grieved about it. On the 10th anniversary of the Chinese revolution he was in Peking for the third time.

Harry was a jolly companion, full of humour, with a warm personal approach that brought the best out of every comrade. From a political standpoint he was never idle, and worked extremely hard, so much so that in 1960 his failing health became a serious problem. Pressure was exerted upon him to take a long rest, and to make a sea voyage to Australia and New Zealand in April 1960. But it was difficult for him to take things easy. He insisted upon a speaking tour, and enjoyed the numerous meetings at which he spoke. However, after joining the ship "Orion" at Sydney on June 20 for his return journey he died seven days later in the ship's hospital.

His untimely death was a grievous blow to the Communist movement in Britain and the international Communist movement. The esteem in which he was held was marked by the huge and representative gathering at his funeral. He left a rich legacy to the Communist Party and the whole Labour movement in Britain. As the main architect of the programme THE BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM, his life and work had enriched the struggle to achieve this aim.

Mahon's book is well written, but many readers might find the style rather difficult, with headings on almost every one of its more than 500 pages. A few aspects of its factual history could be questioned, especially in relation to Pollitt's campaign in Wales. All the same, it's a splendid book and a useful weapon in the struggle for socialism.

IDRIS COX

DOCUMENTS

BRAVE STATEMENTS FROM THE DOCK

In the Cape Town Supreme Court on September 30, 1976, journalist Dr David Rabkin, his wife Susan Rabkin, and Cape Town university lecturer Jeremy Cronin were convicted by Mr Justice Diemont for offences under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act involving the production and distribution of literature promoting the aims of the banned Communist Party and the African National Congress. Dr Rabkin was sentenced to ten years imprisonment, Mr Cronin to 7 years, and Mrs Rabkin to one year's imprisonment, of which 11 months were suspended.

Dr Rabkin and Mr Cronin both made statements from the dock, extracts from which are produced below:

DR RABKIN:

I grew up in the 1950's in a family of enlightened views. I was taught to view with compassion those less privileged than myself and to respect the human dignity of all people of whatever colour.

At an early age I came to feel that my world was composed of those who had – mainly the whites – and those who were deprived, whom I identified with the Black peoples. I felt I belonged to the upper stratum of a privileged group.

But these values did not assume a political importance to me until the events of 1960 at Sharpeville and Langa when I was 12.

The deaths of Black people then and the two-week National stay-at-home had an enormous impact on me. There were scuffles in the streets between police and Africans, the peaceful march on Cape Town and the sudden presence of armed soldiers in the City.

On an impressionable 12 year old, the effect was considerable. I believed that people exercising the legitimate right to protest had been shot dead and that this had been done to protect the wealth and privileges which I enjoyed.

I began to identify myself in the romantic way of a child with the sufferings of the African people. That feeling was strengthened by the turbulent events in the Africa of 1960- 1962.

So when in 1962 our family emigrated to Britain, I was profoundly relieved. I felt the move, which I saw as a kind of sacrifice, would absolve me from the responsibilities incurred as a white person in South Africa.

From 1962 to 1968, when I went up to Leeds University, I tried hard to become an Englishman, but with little success. Though I admired British culture and institutions, I learnt that my roots were firmly fixed in South Africa. What happened here mattered to me in a way that events elsewhere did not.

I went up to Leeds in 1968 and found myself in an atmosphere where progressive ideas were the norm and where the best minds among my contemporaries were absorbed in Marxist ideas of several varieties.

I had the usual complement of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet views but over the years, in many long and intense discussions with students and lecturers from many parts of the world, my ideas changed.

My conversations with African students led me to believe that only the socialist mode of development with a planned economy and the massive mobilisation of the working people could lift the Continent out of the poverty and under-development in which it seemed trapped.

And in South Africa, I came to believe, only the course of action laid out by the African National Congress, and its sister organisations, including the S.A.C.P., offered the hope of releasing for the benefit of all South Africans, the energies, talents and aspirations of all our people.

From the liberation of the African people, the most oppressed section of our population, would flow a just and democratic society, a South Africa that belonged to all who lived in it — black and white.

I believed this to be the only truly patriotic view of South Africa. For I think I can honestly say that, from the time my views on South

Africa became rationally held, I have not felt any hatred or prejudice against any race or language group in our country.

This was the view I came to hold, and this is the view I still hold. I have no desire for martyrdom but I would not want the Court to think I undertook the political work of the last three years lightly or out of any other than sincere or deeply held principles.

MR. CRONIN

My political involvement derives from principles that are moral and intellectual as well as being political in character. At the heart of these is a three-fold commitment – to work for the end of all class exploitation; to work for a democratic South Africa; and to work under the leadership of the A.N.C. for the national liberation of the African people and other oppressed national groups in South Africa.

These three commitments are, I believe, closely interconnected. In our present situation the national liberation of the African people, the largest and most oppressed group in our society, is the way forward to a South Africa that will belong more fully to all of us irrespective of the colour of our skin. A democratic South Africa will only be feasible with the realisation of the legitimate aspirations of the African people for full political, social and economic rights in this, the country of their birth. These national aspirations, I believe, constitute the most dynamic force for progressive change in our society at present.

Moreover, because they are the great majority in our land, this national liberation of the African people will not be meaningful if black faces simply replace white faces in the role of the oppressor. The national liberation of the African people and of the Coloured and Indian peoples who are also made to suffer various national disabilities will only be completed if the structure of our society is itself transformed, only if our society progressively ceases to be based on the exploitation of man by man.

These, my principles, were not developed all at once, nor did their development always come easily. My political views were at first typical of many English-speaking white South Africans. I imagined that the inequalities and discriminations that were in evidence about me were all the results of the attitudes of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

This was a mistaken but convenient view. While I enjoyed all the privileges of being a white in South Africa, I also absolved myself from any responsibility.

I came in time to realise the prejudiced nature of this view. I came to see that it was in fact the social and economic system, supported by most white South Africans, that was responsible for the existence and perpetuation of grave racial inequality and class exploitation.

Moreover, with regard to myself, I came to realise that my political inactivity at that time amounted in fact to tacit support for a system I deplored in theory.

I owed these realisations, in many ways, to the privileges of higher education which enabled me to pursue my own research and gave me time for reflection and critical self-reflection. It is true that there are many fellow South Africans who broadly share my beliefs without having enjoyed these privileges (but they know the meaning of national and class oppression before they discover these concepts in books).

I came to realise that, while I was able to spend several years at University, others in South Africa were compelled to go out and seek work before they had finished, or even started, school. That, while I was free to come and go as I pleased, others had to carry passes. That while I was able to live in relative comfort close to the University, others were torn from their wives and families by migrant labour, or displaced far from their places of work by Group Areas removals and other legislation.

Above all, I came to realise that all of my privileges were not unrelated to the sufferings of others, that my privileges were made possible by the wealth produced by the sweated labour of others. The privileges that I have enjoyed have placed obligations upon me to my country and its people.

These are some of the reasons and steps behind the development of my beliefs.

I would like to stress that what I have done has been done not against South Africa, but rather for a more integrated and more peaceful South Africa, for a South Africa not splintered up territorially, for a South Africa not weakened by racial divisions and class exploitation.

What I have done has been directed not against my fellow white countrymen but against a social system that many Whites support, but which is, I believe not in the long-term interests of South Africa and most of its people..

Finally, what I have done has been done not just on behalf of others but with the deep conviction that a people that oppresses another can never itself be free.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

THE PRINTER'S DEVIL

From Sol Flapan, Warsaw, Poland

I believe a printer's error crept into the "International Resolution of the Central Committee" of the SACP (No. 64, First Quarter 1976).

Speaking of imperialist attempts at undermining the liberation and independence struggles of African peoples you say (p. 37) "Their purpose is clearly to coerce these newly independent states into becoming appendages of the world socialist community."

Certainly imperialism is not interested in the new states becoming "appendages" of the socialist community.

Furthermore, the socialist community seeks no "appendages." Allies, comrades, friends – yes. Not appendages.

Hence, "Capitalist" world was probably meant for "socialist community."

True, the context of the cited paragraph, the sense of the entire article, and the overall ideological/political posture of your militant quarterly cancels out what undoubtedly is a printer's error.

Right On! dear Comrades.

Fraternally Yours for when the "Internationale shall be the human race."

Victory is certain.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

LIST OF CONTENTS 1976

No 64 — First Quarter

Editorial Notes: No neutrality in Angola; SACP Central Committee Meeting; South Africa Belongs to all its People; How Independent is the Transkei?; Is the Nationalist Government Discriminatory? 5
Defeat Vorster and his Collaborators! Engage the Enemy on Every Front! CC of the SACP plenary Session Report. 22
Make Detente Irreversible! CC of the SACP International Resolution 34
Favourable Conditions for Struggle! Joint Communique by the Soviet and South African Communist Parties. 41
Sol Dubula: The Congo on the Way to Socialism. 43
S.A. Communists Visit Congo: Final Communique. 52
Phineas Malinga: The Golden Key 56
Toussaint: Black Bankers – Friends or Enemies of Liberation? 63
D.S. Sisacho: Africanisation and Class Struggle 75
J. Villiers: Bantustan Myths and Realities 83
David Davis: African Unions at the Crossroads 93
Book Reviews: The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers (Elaine Potter); Angela Davis, an Autobiography; The Black Sash of South Africa, a Case Study in Liberalism (Cherry Michelman). 105
Documents: The National Question in South Africa; Lenin's Strategy and Tactics of Revolutionary Struggle (summary of article) 111
F. Doiron: Comrade Bram. 123
Letter to the Editor: 124
Contents List for The African Communist 1975 126

No 65 — Second Quarter

Editorial Notes: Angola's Lesson for South Africa; The People are on the Move; A Great Friend of Africa. 5
The Enemy Hidden Under the Same Colour: Central Committee Statement 16
Fidel Castro: An Act of Solidarity in Angola 41
Essop Pahad: The Island of Freedom 49
F. Meli: South Africa's Involvement in Latin America 62
Sentinel: African Commentary 73
Raymond Suttner: "It is not Wrong to Fight for Freedom and Equality" 83
Historicus: Albert Nzula, our First African General Secretary 90

Book Reviews: The Puritans in Africa (W. de Klerk); South Africa in Africa – A Study in Ideology and Foreign Policy (Sam Nolutshungu) 103
Letter to the Editor 113
Document: Zionism is a Movement of Racial Discrimination 116

No 66 **Third Quarter**

Editorial Notes: No Compromise in South Africa: Release S.A. Political Prisoners; The South Africa-Israel Axis; New U.S. Party Journal 5
J. Villiers: Transkei "Independence" Fraud. 19
A Special Correspondent: The Final Battle for Zimbabwe 41
Dr Yusuf Dadoo: An Impressive Demonstration of Communist Unity 48
New Perspectives for Liberation: Message of SACP to 25th Congress CPSU. 57
Ahmed Azad: No Room for Anti-Sovietism in Africa. 60
Jean-Pierre Gombe: Radicalising the Revolution in Congo 69
Africa: Notes and Comments 73
Ben Molapo: On the National Question 82
Book Reviews: Moshoeshoe – Chief of the Sotho (Peter Sanders); The Nationalists in Opposition 1934-1948 (Newell M. Stultz); Workers Without Weapons – SACTU and the Organisation of African Workers (Edward Feit); Change in Contemporary South Africa (edited by Leonard Thompson and Jeffrey Butler) 94
Letters to the Editor. 105

No 67 **Fourth Quarter**

Editorial Notes: South Africa in Revolt; The Transkei Sham; A Renegade Expelled; Europe's Communists Meet. 5
True Liberation Needs a Strong Working Class. SACP Message 20
William Pomeroy: The "New" US Policy in Africa 26
Phineas Malinga: S.A. Imperialism – The Balance Sheet for 1976 36
David Davis: Economy Strangled by Colour Bars 41
Joe Ngwenya: A Further Contribution on the National Question 48
David Evans: African Prometheus – a Poem 60
Dialego: Philosophy and Class Struggle: 1: Why Revolutionaries Need Marxism. 63
Book Reviews: Class Struggles in Tanzania (Issa G. Shivji); Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-33 (Charles van Onselen); Urban Man in Southern Africa (edited by Clive Kileff and Wade C. Pendleton); Aspects of a Far-off Land (A.B. Davidson and V. Makrushin); Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary (Brian Bunting) 73
Document: Forced Labour for Coloured Workers 86

AFRICA AND ASIA TODAY

Great changes have taken place in Africa and Asia in the last few years — as more and more countries have thrown off the shackles of imperialism in their drive for national liberation and independence.

A question frequently asked is : "What is the attitude of the Socialist countries, in particular of the Soviet Union, to these new developments." Now is your chance to find out — by subscribing to a new English-Language Soviet journal — AFRICA AND ASIA TODAY.

An illustrated bi-monthly, this journal looks at political, economic and cultural life in African and Asian countries. It costs £1.50 for one year (6 issues) and £2.25 for two years (12 issues).

- -

Send this form, with your remittance, to
CENTRAL BOOKS LTD., 37 Grays Inn Road, London WC1X 8PS

Please supply ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY for 1 year/2 years to —

Name . . . .

Address . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

I enclose £ . . . . : . . . . p.

Listen to the

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Radio Tanzania — External Service (Dar es Salaam)

on 15435 Khz 19 meter band

10 p.m. South African time

Sundays, Mondays
Wednesdays, Fridays

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

Frelimo English-language quarterly. Independence issue now available:

price (incl. postage) – 50 pence – annual sub: £2.00.

PEOPLE'S POWER in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau

New bi-monthly series of reports, major speeches and policy statements, news etc.:

Sample copy – 50 pence – annual sub: £2.50.

Both publications available from:

Mozambique and Guine Information Centre
12 Little Newport Street
London WC2AH 7JJ
England

Be informed by keeping in tune with –

RADIO MOSCOW'S AFRICAN SERVICE.

Keeps you up to date on:
Life and developments in the USSR, the Soviet people's solidarity with the courageous struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa against apartheid and racial discrimination, for national and social liberation.
Africa can hear Radio Moscow 23 hours a day in 14 languages.

For Southern Africa		Time GMT	WAVELENGTH
Listen to us	in English:	18.30-19.00	19,25,31,49 m.
		15.00-15.30	13,16,19,25,31m.
	in Zulu:	17.30-18.00	16,19,25m.
	in Shona and Ndebele:	15.30-16.30	13,16,19,25m.

Important: Please note that our frequencies are changed in May and October. The details are announced at the end of our programmes.

Address: African Service, Radio Moscow, Moscow, USSR

communist viewpoint

Subscribe now . . .

6 issues a year $4.
(NEWSSTAND VALUE: $4.50)

COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT is a Marxist theoretical-political journal dealing with Canadian and world affairs from the standpoint of scientific socialism.

In Canada: Single Copy 75c; One Year $4.00; 2 Years $7.00 (Save $1.00). U.S. and Foreign: $5.00 1 Year; $8.50 2 Years. Half-price for students and unemployed. Enclose 15c with U.S. cheques.

Send to:

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....ZONE ......PROV. or STATE ....

Enc. $ .... Bill me ....

Progress Subscription Service, 487 Adelaide St. W., Toronto M5V 1T4
Canada

Typesetting and Artwork by IRAT Services Ltd, 44 Earlham Street, London WC2

Printed by Interdruck Leipzig

Be informed by keeping in tune with–

Radio Berlin International

RBI

The Voice of the German Democratic Republic

Keeps you up to date on:

Life and developments in the Socialist German state and the socialist community.
Mankind's struggle for – Peace, National Liberation, Social Liberation.
Get to know the standpoint of the socialist German state by listening to Radio Berlin International.

You can receive us in:–

Africa
in English, French, Swahili on the following metre bands: 49, 25, 19, 16 and 13.

Middle East
in Arabic on the following metre bands: 49, 30, 25, 19, 16 and 13.

South East Asia
in English and Hindi on the following metre bands: 25, 19, 16 and 13.

IMPORTANT: Please note that our frequencies are changed in March, May, September and November. The details are announced at the end of our programmes.

GDR, 116 Berlin

UNDERCONSUMPTION THEORIES

A History and Critical Analysis

Michael Bleaney

Long influential in socialist economic thinking, underconsumption theories have been taken as providing a simple explanation of capitalist crises by tracing their cause to lack of purchasing power by the mass of wage-workers. Marx himself has often been misrepresented (by both followers and critics) as an "underconsumptionist", but this book undertakes a systematic critique of underconsumption theories of political economy from a Marxist standpoint.

paperback £3

V.I. LENIN SELECTED WORKS

In Three Volumes

The key writings of Lenin. Included are *Imperialism – the Highest Stage of Capitalism; The State and Revolution; Left-Wing Communism – an Infantile Disorder;* and many others.

the set £6

LAWRENCE & WISHART LTD
46 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1
TELEPHONE 01-405 7565